A Ph.D. Thesis of

EARLY WODEYARS OF MYSORE AND TAMIL NADU

A Study in Political, Economic and Cultural Relations from 1600-1761 A.D.

Submitted to the University of Mysore, Mysore
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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this entire work entitled **'Early Wodeyars of Mysore and Tamil Nadu : A Study in Political, Economic and Cultural Relations from 1600-to 1761 A.D.'** is the result of my own study carried out *under the guidance of* **Dr. Y. H. Nayakwadi**, *Senior Lecturer, Department of* Studies in History, Manasagangotri, University of Mysore, Mysore-560006. The same has not been submitted in part or full for any Diploma or Degree in this or any other University. Due acknowledgments have been made wherever material has been borrowed from other sources.

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CERTIFICATE

I certify that I have guided and supervised the preparation and writing of the present thesis entitled **'Early Wodeyars of Mysore and Tamil Nadu : A Study in Political, Economic and Cultural Relations from 1600-1761 A.D.'** by **S. C. Raghavendra Raj Urs**, who worked on this subject in the Department of studies in History, Manasagangotri, Mysore-570006, as an external research Scholar from 1997 to 2004 under my guidance. This thesis has not been submitted previously for the award of any Degree or Diploma of any University. As it is satisfactorily prepared, it may be accepted by the University of Mysore

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S. C. RAGHAVENDRA RAJ URS
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ABBREVIATIONS

Annals	:	Annals of the Mysore Royal family
AVC	:	Apratima Vira Charitam
C. Bi	:	Chikkadevaraja Binnapam
C. Vam	:	Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali
C. Vi	:	Chikkadevaraja Vijayam
Cal. Mad. Rec	:	Calendar of Madras Records
Count. Corres	:	Country Correspondence
Des. Cat. Mack. MSS	:	Descriptive catalogue of Oriental manuscripts of Mackenzie Collection
Desp. Eng	:	Despatches to England
Di. A. P	:	The Private Dairy of Ananda Ranga Pillai
Di. Cons. Bk	:	Diary and Consultation Book
Div. Su. Cha.	:	Divya Suri Charita
EC	:	Epigraphia Carnatica
Gl. Go	:	Gita Gopalam
HN	:	Hyder Nama
Had. Dhar.	:	Hadibadeya Dharma
Hasti. Maha	:	Hastigiri Mahatmya
HISI	:	Historical Inscriptions of South India
IHRC	:	Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission
IMC	:	Inscriptions of the Mackenzie Collections
Indostan	:	Orme's Military transactions of the British Nation in Indostan

Kam. Maht.	:	Kamalachala Mahatmya
Kam. Ni	:	Kamndaka Niti
KAV.	:	Kalale Arasugala Vamsavali
Kar. Janaji	:	Karnataka Janajivana
K.N.V	:	Kantirava Narasaraja Vijayam
Kar. Ka. Cha.	:	Karnataka Kavi Charitre
Ke. N. V.	:	Keladi Nrupa Vijayam
Mad. Or. Lib	:	Madras Oriental Library
MAR	:	Mysore Archeological Report
M.E.R	:	Madras Epigraphist Report
Mad. Des	:	Madras Despatches
M.N	:	Mahamad Nama
Mili. Cons.	:	Military Consultations
Mys. Dho. Pur.viva	:	Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara
Mys. Dho. Vam	:	Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali
Mys. Gaz.	:	Mysore Gazetter
Mys. Nag. Pur	:	Mysuru Nagarada Purvottara
Mys. Raj. Cha	:	Mysuru Rajara Charitre
Mys. Or. Lib	:	Mysore Oriental Library
P. Manu	:	Paper Manuscript
PL. Manu	:	Palm Leaf Manuscript
Pasch. Rang. Maha	:	Paschima Ranga Mahtmya
QJMS	:	Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society
Raj. Kath.	:	Rajavali Kathe

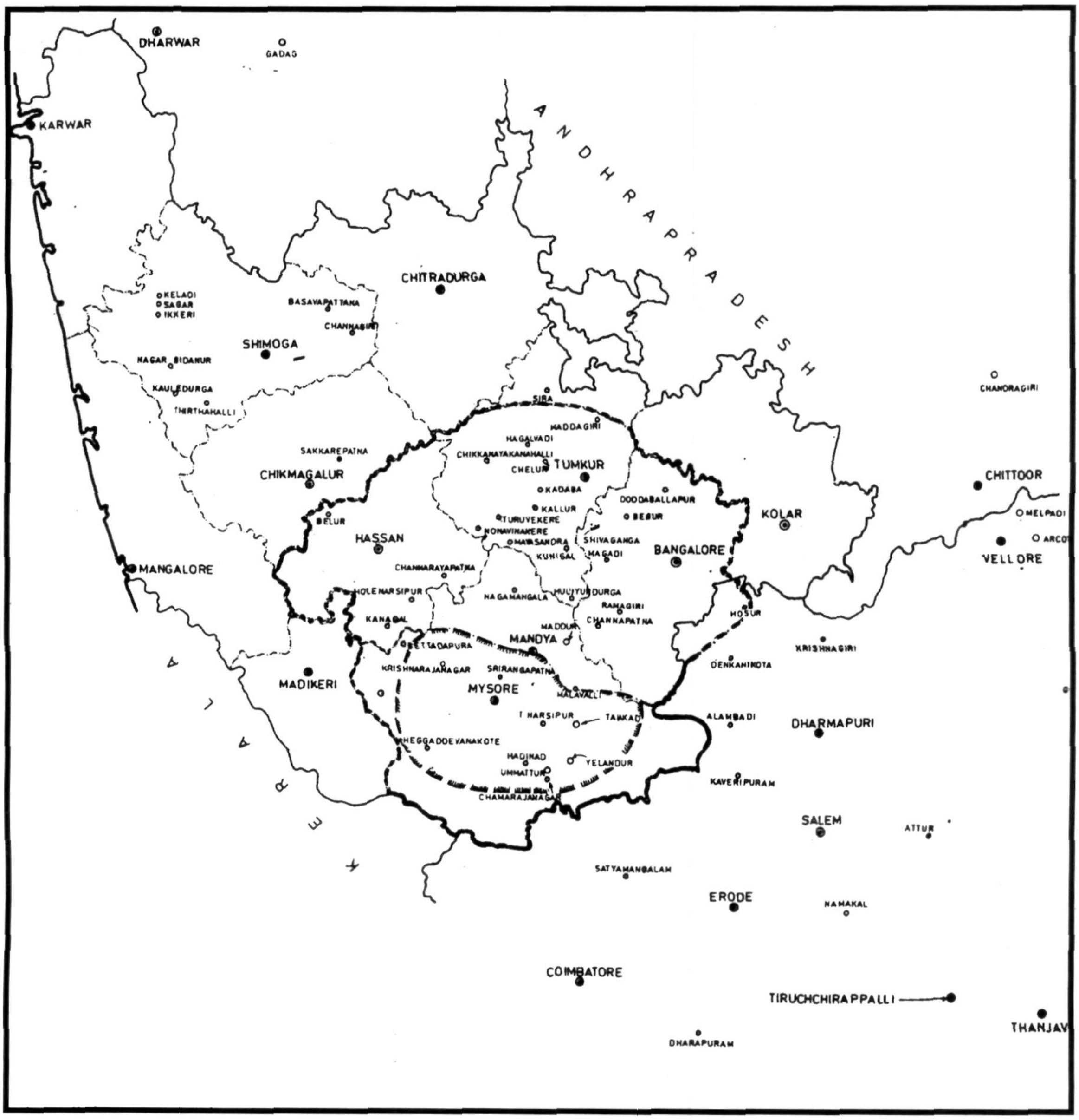
Sachchu. Nir	:	Sachchudra Chara Nirnaya
Sel. Pesh. Daft	:	Selection from Peshwa Daftar
Shi-Nib	:	Shivaji Nimbdavalli
Tuzak	:	Tuzak-i-Walajahi
Venk. Mahat	:	Venkatagiri Mahtmya
Yad. Maht	:	Yadavagiri Mahtmya

GLOSSARY

Agrahara	-	A special kind of grant made to Hindu Brahmin for religious purpose
Akrandasara	-	An ally of the rearward ally
Ari	-	The enemy
Arimitra	-	Enemy's ally
Arimitra-Mitra	-	Enemy ally's ally
Bakhairs	-	Local historical records
Brahmadaya	-	Gift to Brahmins
Dalavoy	-	Chief Minister
Dandaniti	-	Sense of polity
Dasara Darbar	-	A royal court held during Dasara festival
Gandabherunda	-	Royal emblem of the Wodeyars of Mysore
Kaifiyats	-	Historical records
Karyakarta	-	Agent
Madhyama	-	Neutral
Mahamandaleshwara	-	Viceroy of Provincial Governor
Mahapradhana	-	Chief Minister or Chief Councellor to the King or Nayaka
Maharaja	-	Title awarded to Hindu King
Mandala	-	The territory held by a ruler at any given time
Mandalika	-	Feudatory
Manya	-	Tax free land

Mitra	-	Ally
Mitra-Mitra	-	Ally's ally
Nadu	-	A district level administrative division or of a territory
Nayaka	-	The term Nayaka as a popular title of lower order military leaders or a leader or a chief-in-general and also head of a small body of soldiers
Niti writers	-	Ancient Indian Political thinkers
Palegara	-	A petty chieftan in the South India
Parshimigrahasara	-	Ally of the rearward enemy
Purvamaryade	-	The ancient constitutional usages or ancient practices and traditions
Raajya	-	Province
Samantha	-	Feudatory
Samrajya	-	An empire
Sanathana Dharma	-	An old tradition or religion
Sannad	-	Charter or order from the ruler
Sarvadhikari	-	Officer-in-charge of general administration
Setties	-	The merchants
Smriti	-	Spiritual works
Swamy	-	Pontiff
Swarajya	-	Self-rule
Tigulas	-	Tamils

Udasina	-	The indifferent
Umbali	-	Land grants
Varaha	-	Coins
Veera Banajiga	-	Karnataka Traders
Veerashaiva	-	A Hindu sub-caste followers of Lord Basaveshwara
Vijigishu	-	The aspirant

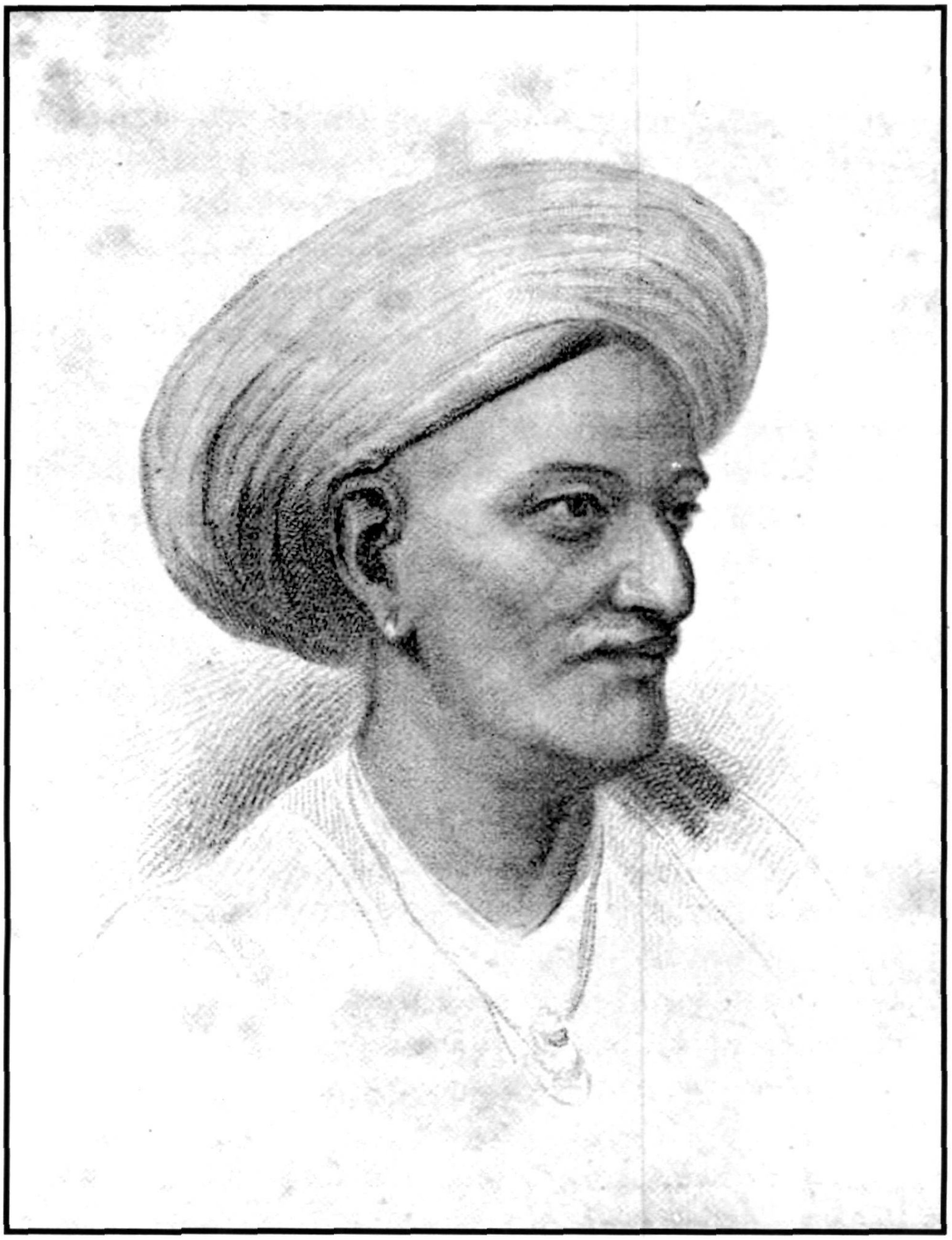


The Territorial expansion of the Early Wodeyars towards Tamil Nadu

Raja Wodeyar, 1578-1617.

Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar I, 1638-1659

Krishnaraja Wodeyar II, 1734-1766

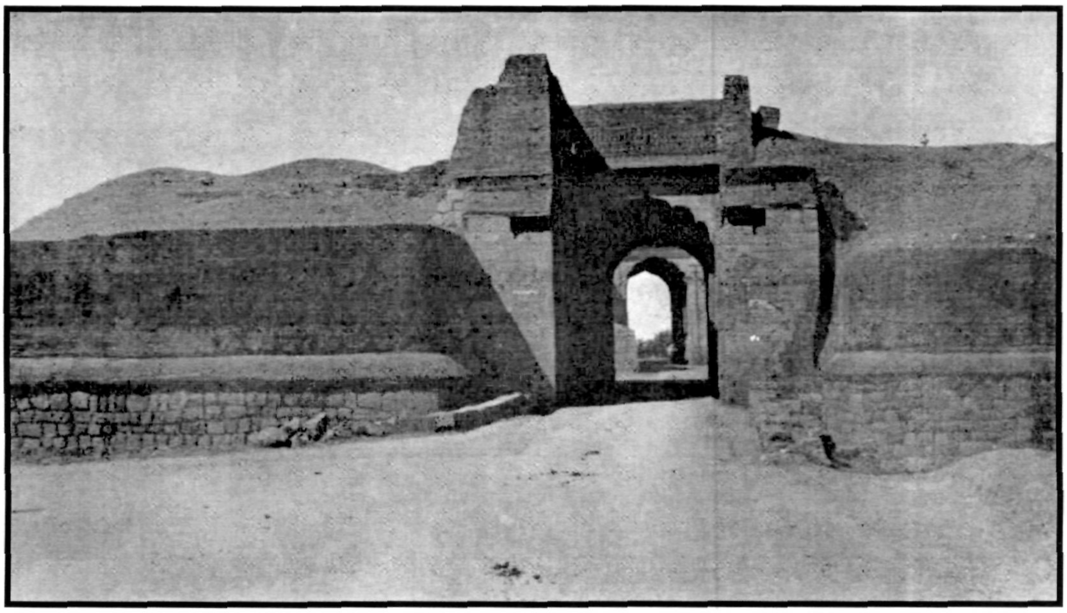


NANDI RAJA
Karachuri Nanjarajaiya, Dalavai and Regent of Mysore, 1739-1759

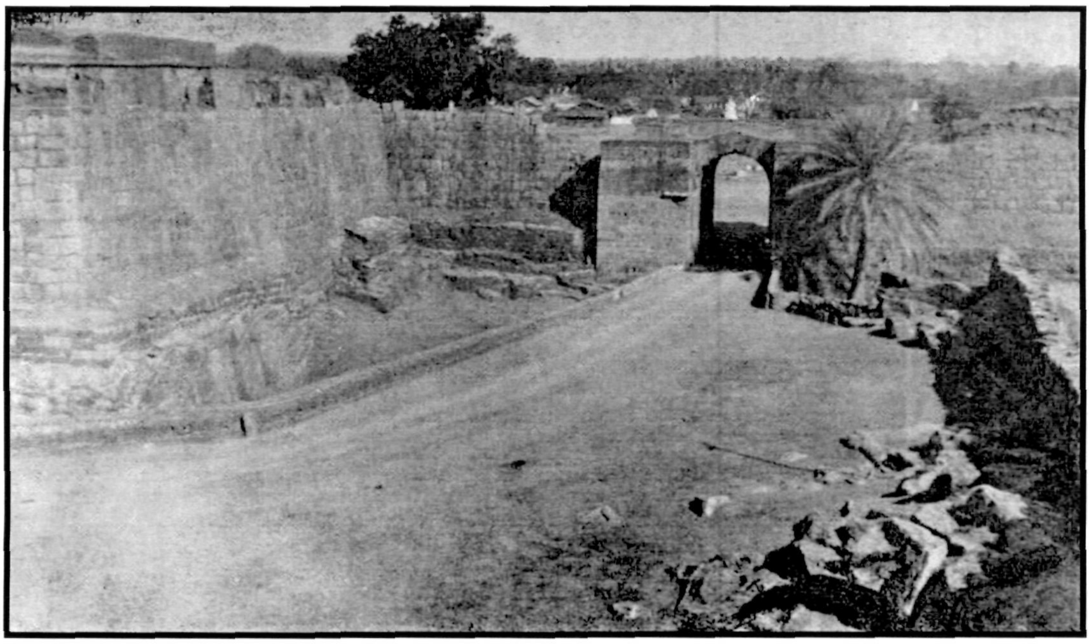
Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah

Mons, Dupleix

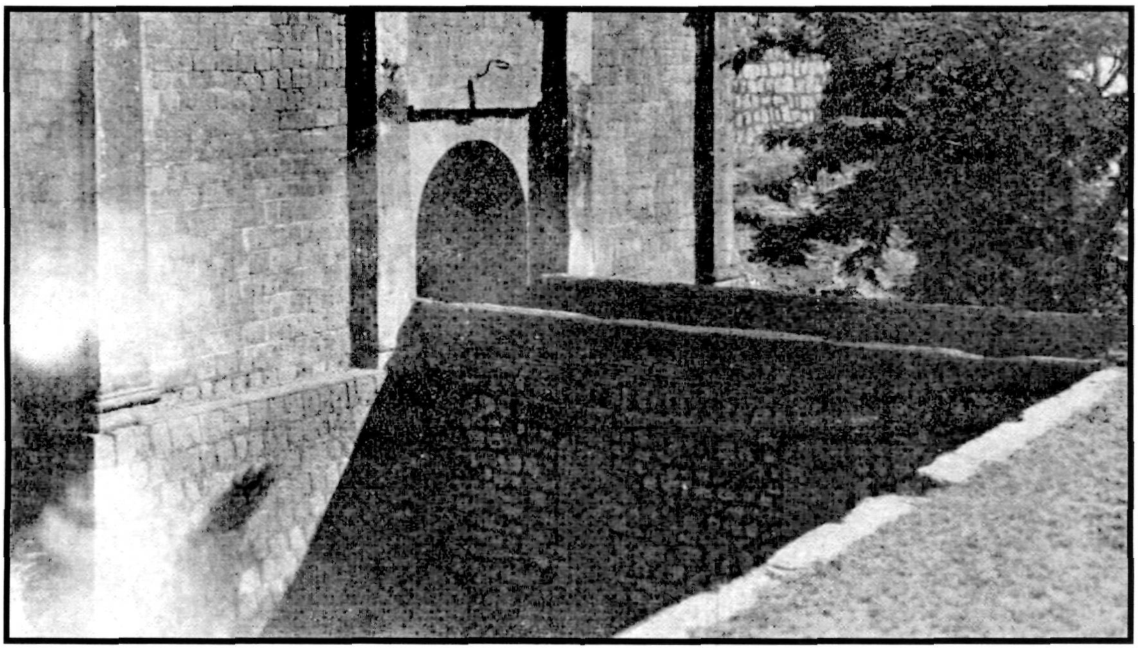
Mons, De Bussy



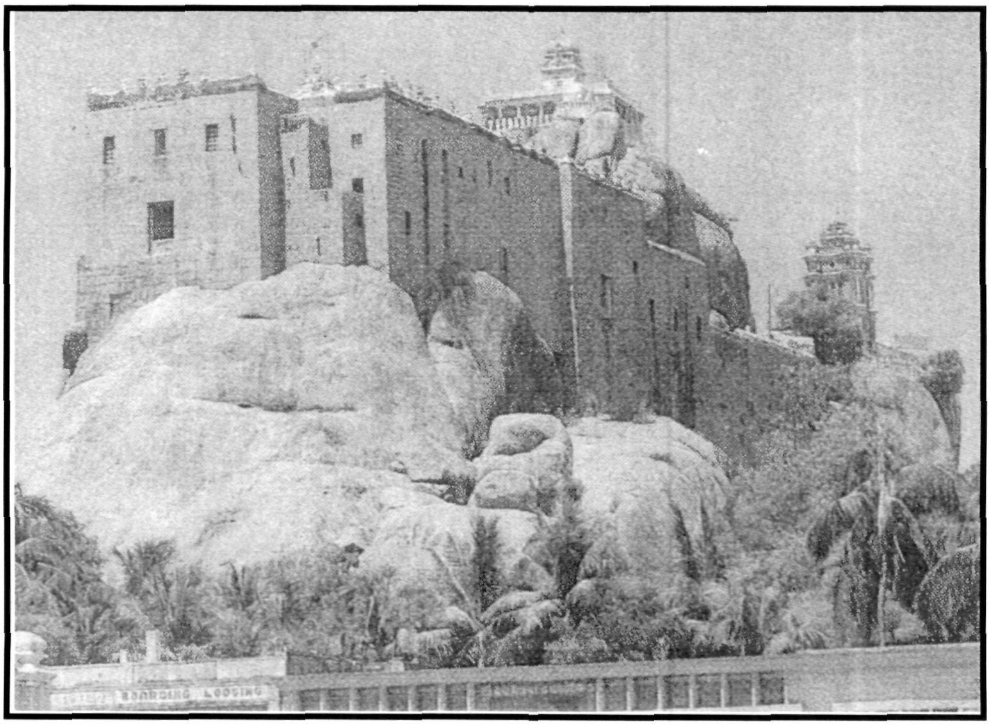
The Eastern Gate of the Srirangapattana Fort



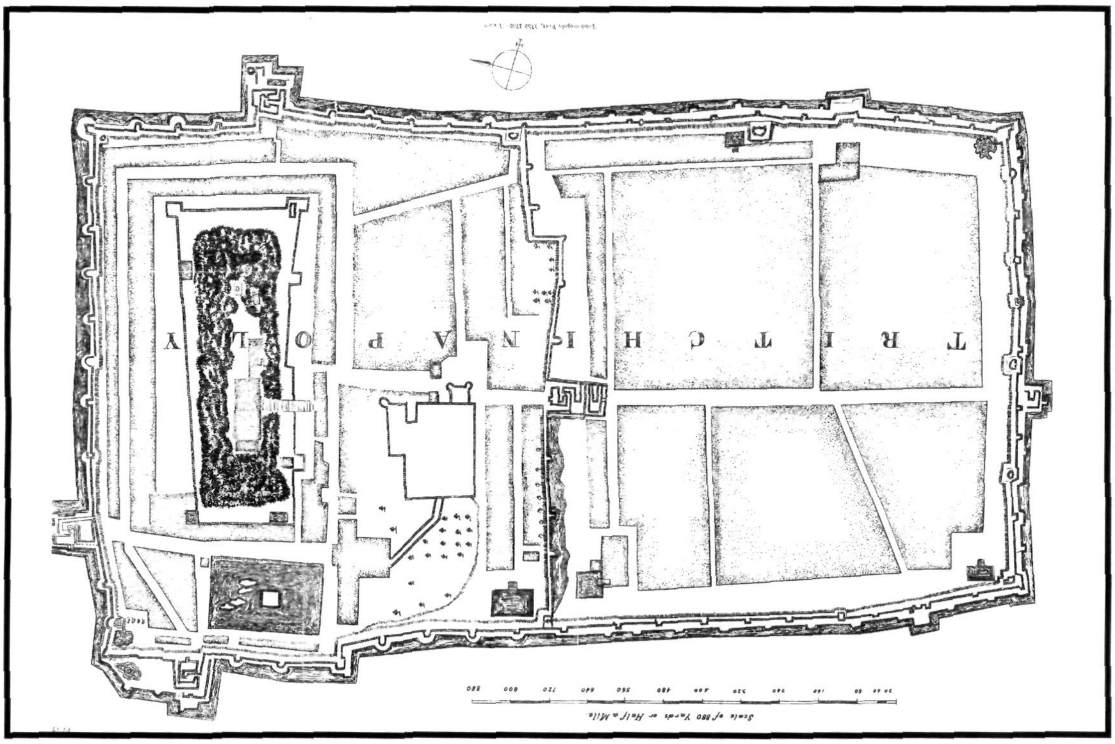
The Srirangapattana Fort with its Postern gate – A view



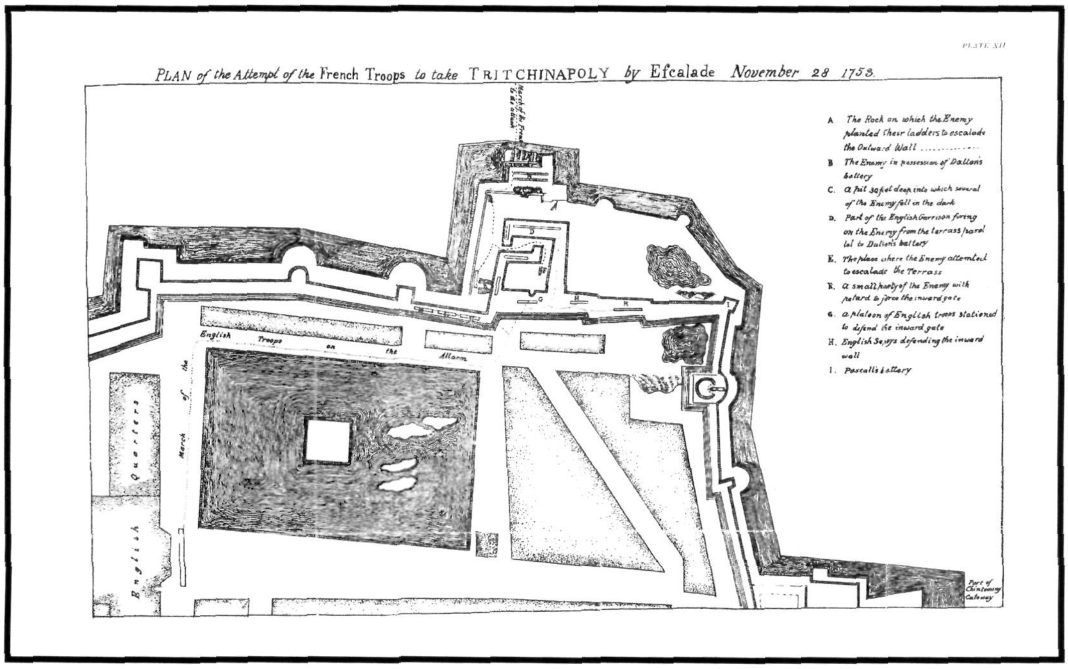
The Mysore Gate of the Srirangapattana Fort – A side view



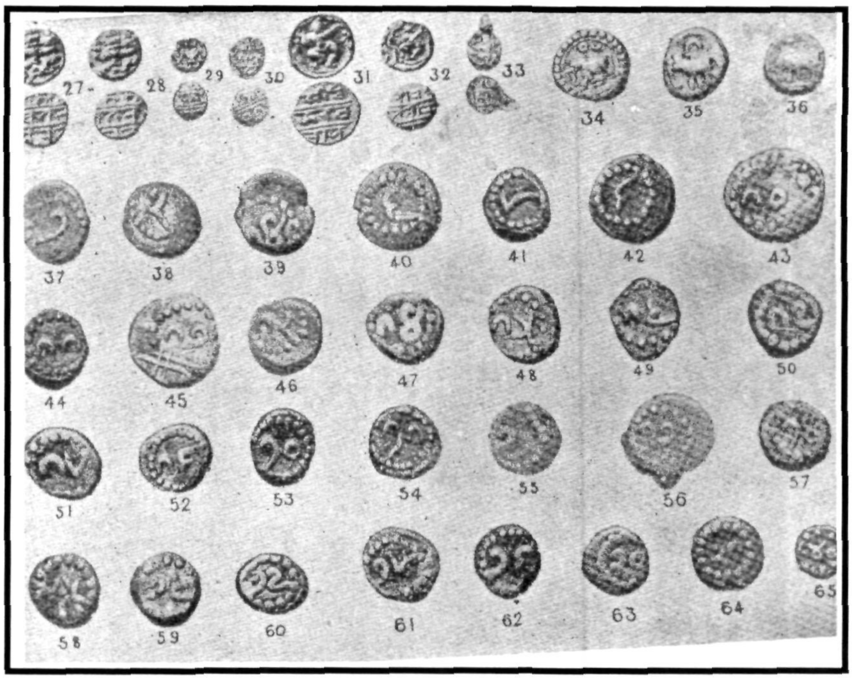
Thiruchinapalli Fort – A Focal point of conflict between Mysore and several political forces in Tamil Nadu



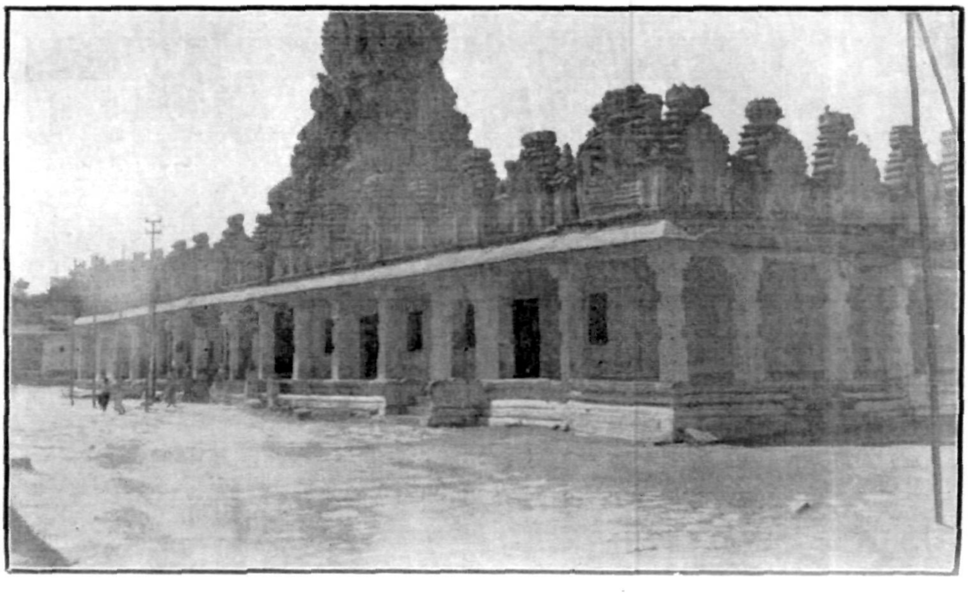
Fort Plan - Tiruchinapalli



Fort Plan - Tiruchinapalli



Coins of the early Wodeyars of Mysore



Temple at Melukote – A religious link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu

Staute of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar I in the Narasimhasvami Temple, Srirantapattana

Bhakta-Vigraha of Raja Wodeyar in the Narayanasvami Temple, Melkote

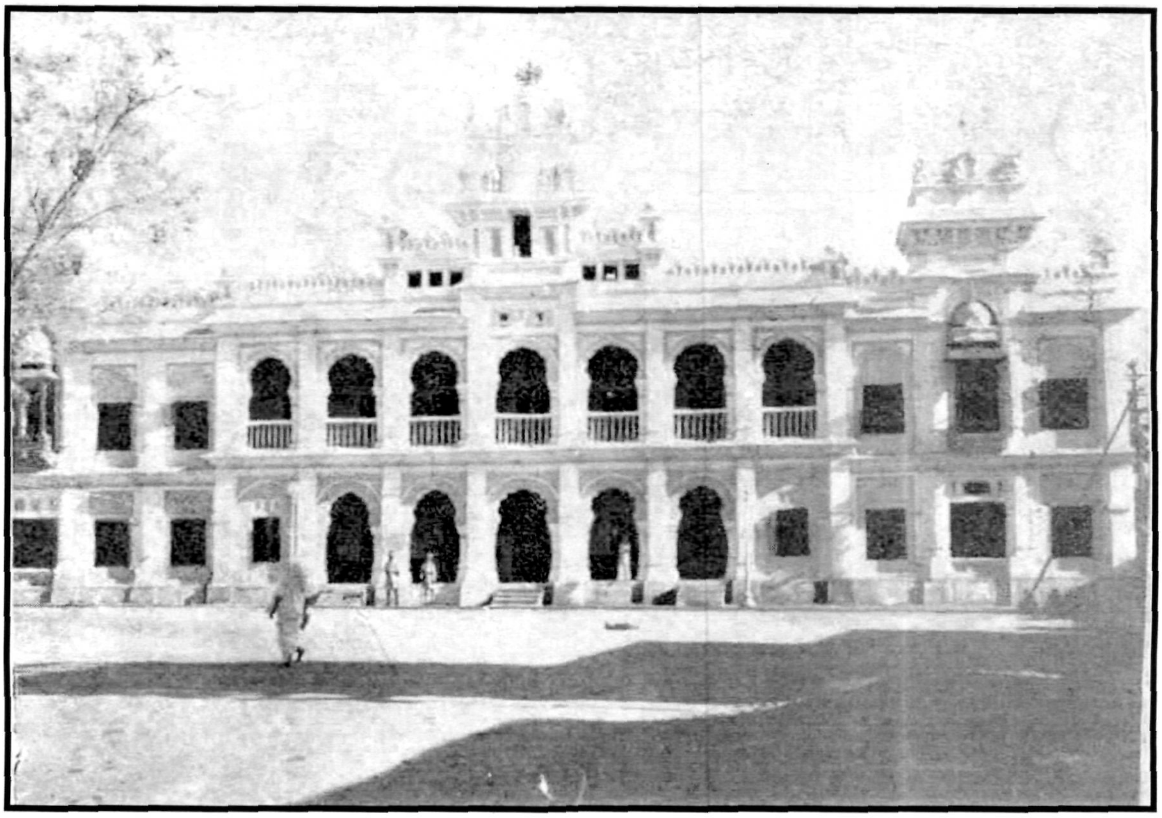
Sri Lakshmi Hayagriva

The incornation of Vishnu and the chief diety worshipped by the Pointiff's of Parakala Mata

Sri Bhagavad Ramanujamunayaha

Sri Brahmatantra Swatantra Vedanta Lakshmana Swami

Sri Brahmatantra Svatantra Jiyar



Sri Brahmatantra Parakalaswami Mutt, Mysore

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Study

The present study is aimed at examining the relations between the early Wodeyars of Mysore and Tamil Nadu in the 17th and 18th centuries in the light of the Rajamandala Theory enunciated by Kautilya in his *Artha Sastra*.[1] The Rajamandala Theory of the Smruthi and the Nithi writers presupposes the division of the country into a number of small States and the presence of an ambitious conqueror, anxious to establish his hegemony over there. According to Kautilya "the Rajamandala consists of twelve constituent mandalas of kings. These mandalas are like circles within the circles with political relations with each other. For instance two neighboring are enemies of each other at all times. The corollary of this theory would be that two States neighboring the third State is assumed to be in friendly alliance. Next to *ari* (the enemy) and *mitra* (ally), *arimitra* (enemies ally), then *mitra - mitra* (once ally's ally), and *ari mitra - mitra* (enemy's ally) in the Rajamandala as conceived by Kautilya".[2] The kings in the front enumerated above are five in numbers.

The kings in the rear of the conqueror are given different names by the political thinkers. But their presumed relationship is similar. "The immediate neighbour in rear is called *parshimigraha* one who attacks in the rear and next one is called *akranda* (ally in the rear) then come *parashigraha*

sara (ally of the rear ward enemy) and *akranda sara* (ally of the rear ward ally)".[3] The kings rear are thus four in number.

There were, however, some kings who were not interested in this rivalry. Such neutral indifferent kings were called the *madhyama*. They were also called *udasina* and *vijigishu*. The Niti writers have been watchful about the motives and movement of the constituent members of the mandala in order to secure peace and safety for his dominion and extends to its boundary by system of alliances.[4] The basic assumptions which Rajamandala Theory conceived by the political thinkers of ancient are applicable to Medieval Indian polity as well as to early Modern Indian history. The present study is under taken to apply the concepts of the Rajamandala Theory to examine in the context of the Early Wodeyars of Mysore and Tamil Nadu.

The present study falls in the area of international relations during medieval times, especially inter-state relations between two regions of Medieval South India in the 17th and 18th centuries. It focuses mainly on political relations and also socio-economic and cultural relations. It involves investigations of diplomatic history, and the policies of war and peace. The concept of mandala or circle of States was deep rooted in Indian polity. Every State in the Mandala exhibited an ambition to dominate over the circle of States by falling specific means of policy. Four types of policies were suggested in the inter-state relations. They are, *Sama* (conciliation), *Dana* (Gift), *Bheda* (division), *Danda* (coercive power). The war (*danda*) was used

as final means of foreign policy in the Rajamandala in order to build *samrajya* and also to acquire more territory and wealth for *swarajya*. So the inter-state relations underlined how basic concepts namely *samrajya* and *swarajya* in a policy of state.[5] Against this background the policy of the Wodeyars of Mysore, particularly Raja Wodeyar, Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, Dalavoy brothers namely Kalale Devarajaiah and Karachuri Nanjarajaiah towards Tamil Nadu in South India has been examined. Hyder Ali emerged as an important political leader, following the footsteps of his mentors namely Dalavoy brothers.

The research in field of political history dominated historical research during the colonial period. The post-independence period however witnessed a short decline in the study of political history. The scholars were attracted more towards socio-economic and cultural history than towards political history. The area of the political history was so exhausted but there was scope for further contribution in the field. The study of political history has been neglected during the post-independent period but it could be too much to assume that the political history especially with regard to ancient and medieval period has been completely exhausted and there is no scope for further research in this field. A huge number of inscriptions, copper plates, coins, Bakhiats, Kaifiyats and oral tradition have been brought to light throwing fresh light on major and minor dynasties. Moreover the study of imperial dynasties have been undertaken in isolation of the study of the inter state relations in the light of ancient and Medieval Indian political thinkers and from the view of international relations in the modern age is found is

totally missing.[6] The scholars like Burton Stein[7] and Noboro Karashima[8] are trying to apply statistical data and advanced political ideas to interpret the concept of structure of State in medieval South India. These ventures however have hidden the scope of political history for further research. These three factors attracted me towards the study of the relations between the early Wodeyars and Tamil Nadu.

The nature of this study is based on three hypothesis. Firstly, Inter-state relations bring about political and territorial expansion of one power in the area of other. Secondly, security, defence, accumulation of wealth, power and prestige are primary forces behind the origin of inter state relations. Thirdly, Political links in inter State relations often result in economic and cultural bonds between two different administrators, linguistic and cultural zones. Officials, merchants and religious leaders migrate from one region to another as a consequence of inter state relations. On the basis the hypothesis stated above the following questions related to the present study have been raised and answered. What led to the expansionist policy of Mysore towards Tamil Nadu which was situated in the South and East of Mysore Kingdom ? What was the nature of impact of political penetration to Tamil Nadu in the 18th century ? Why did Tirichinapally figured prominently in the interstate relations between Mysore and Tamil Nadu in the 18th century ? Was the adventure of Tirichinapally inevitable to Mysore? Was there any tradition behind the push towards the South ?

A Review of literature

The early writings on the early Wodeyars of Mysore started by the Gazetteer writers such as B. L. Rice,[9] Hayavadana Rao[10] etc. B. L. Rice wrote Mysore Gazetteer volumes I & II, London, 1897. He had given some political socio-economic aspects of early Wodeyars of Mysore. Hayavadana Rao a great historian had written Mysore Gazetteer, Bangalore 1929. He Strove hard to get due representation to Mysore history since then a large numbers of modern scholars were attracted towards the Mysore history. Shama Rao[11] wrote Modern Mysore, Bangalore, 1936. He tried to give the whole picture of Mysore history. Col. Mark Wilks works also a great significant in nature. These are the traditional historians. Buchanan's[12] A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malbar (London, 1808) is highly informative work on the early Wodeyars of Mysore and Tamil Nadu. These writers have mainly concentrated on the general political and administrative history of early Wodeyars of Mysore with occasional references to socio-economic problems.

R. R. Diwakar's[13] - *Karnartaka Through the Ages*, Bangalore, 1970, gives some aspects of general history of early Wodeyars. A. Satyanarayana's[14] History of The Wodeyars of Mysore (1610-1748) is a major work on early Wodeyars. The purpose of the author is to show how the political relations existed between the Wodeyars and Tamil Nadu. He discusses the entire history of the Wodeyars' dynasty from rise to maturity. B. Sheikh Ali[15] in his work British Relations with Hyder Ali gives importance to the English and Hyder Ali. Hyder Ali's relations with Muhammad Ali and

his subordinate has received least importance. K. Rajayyan[16] in his work History of Madurai dealt about Muhammad Ali's relations with the early Wodeyars. Mark Wilks[17] a resident of Mysore wrote History of Mysore. He discussed the developments in Mysore and gave least importance to the early Wodeyars relations with Tamil Nadu. Although these historians and scholars made no attempt to bring out the relations between the early Wodeyars and Tamil Nadu.

Scope of the Study

The present study discusses the political, economic and cultural relations between the early Wodeyars and Tamil Nadu in the 17th and 18th centuries. The special emphasis is given on the political relations between them. The present thesis is divided into 7 chapters. Besides, it contains abbreviations, glossary, maps, photos, appendices and bibliography.

The First chapter is in the form of introduction and deals with the nature, scope and sources of study. It gives hypotheses and questions related to the main theme of investigation. Sources of various kinds are briefly described. Origin and expansion of the Wodeyars' kingdom of Mysore up to 1761 is outlined and it serves as a background for the study. Besides, some important places, powers and personalities who figured in Mysore-Tamil Nadu relations are briefly described, with the view to understanding their significance in the present study. The introductory chapter also includes a theoretical discussion, review of literature and methodology.

The Second chapter is devoted to the study of political relations of Mysore under early Wodeyars with Tamil Nadu up to 1673. Mysore State emerged as a small but relatively independent entity in 1610 under Raja Wodeyar. The gradual disintegration of Vijayanagara empire after the battle of Talikota in 1565, facilitated the evolution of Mysore kingdom and its subsequent natural expansion towards Tamil Nadu under Ranadhira Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar. By 1673 A.D. the push towards the South at the cost of Madura, Tanjore and Jingi was quite evident. It has been documented in this chapter.

Political relations of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar with Tamil Nadu (1673-1704) is examined in the Third chapter. The disappearance of Vijayanagara as feudal-federal structure in South India encouraged Mysore to penetrate into Tamil Nadu towards Madura. It is highlighted in this chapter.

The eighteenth century was a period of political adventurers. Tamil Nadu in South India became the fertile ground for their activities. Europeans like the English and the French joined in this game of fishing in troubled waters. Tiruchinapalli became the focal point of their activities, including Mysore. The role of Karachuri Nanjarajaiah is analyzed in the Fourth chapter.

Economic and cultural relations between Mysore and Tamil Nadu during the period of the study are examined in the Fifth and Sixth chapters. Special mention is made of Parakala Matha as a cultural link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu. A brief background indicating Tamil Nadu's connection with Mysore region in pre-Wodeyars' period is provided to show

the continuity of relationship between the two areas. Melukote, a Tamil and Srivaishnava center, continued as a link between the two regions.

The Seventh chapter offers some general conclusions which have emerged from the study. Appendices and Bibliography are provided at the end of the thesis.

Methodology of the study

The subject matter of the thesis falls under inter-state relations hence broadly the topic may be assigned to political history of two regions in South India. However, it also involves cultural and economic in the context of inter-state relations. Primarily, the principles of historical method have been used in the preparation of the thesis. The principles of external and internal criteria have been used in evaluating the source materials. In addition to this, wherever required, inter-disciplinary method is also adopted. The native sources and foreign sources used in the thesis contained subjective elements. Hence care has been taken to identify and remove such elements.

Sources of the study

Sources of the study are varied and in different languages. They may be divided into two broad categories. i) Native sources; ii) Foreign sources. Under native sources, we have two types a) Epigraphical sources and b) Literary works. Karnataka is very rich in Epigraphical materials. The Wodeyars of Mysore issued a large number of inscriptions from about 1600 A.D. to end of the 19th century. These inscriptions are in Sanskrit and Kannada languages. Majority of the inscriptions are donatives in nature.

They are not of much value as far as inter-state relations of Mysore are concerned. But they throw light on internal administration and qualifications of the Dalavoys. For example, we have long donative inscriptions of Kalale Nanjaraja. They are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kannada. They register Brahmadaya grants to learned and priestly Brahmans. The study of the grants of Kalale Nanjaraja reveals how he tried to consolidate his position in the territory of Mysore. Brahmans occupied a high social status. Usually they legitimized the political power of the rulers. The Dalavoy plates have to be interpreted in this historical sense. The timing of the grant suggests how the Dalavoy was anxious to placate of the influential section of the society.

In addition to some internal facts, the inscriptions also provide the geneology of the rulers and the Kalale Dalavoy family. No other source would provide this information and so they are valuable. The inscriptions further throw light on the mobilization as well as distribution of resources of rulers and Dalavoys of the period. The taxes collected by the Mysore Government were recorded in those epigraphs. A comparative study of the taxes collected in different periods of the history of the Wodeyars of Mysore might help us understand another dimension of taxation recorded in the inscription of the second half of the century. Why was it so? The answer would be that the government of Mysore under Krishnaraja Wodeyar II was under external pressure from all sides. It was a period in which Mysore was attacked by the Nizam, the Marathas, the British and the French and other minor powers to extract money from Mysore. So, the evidence from

epigraphy of the period has indirectly helped us to understand the external relations of Mysore.

The native literary sources in Kannada are innumerable. It is clear that in the Post-Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar period and particularly in the second half of the 18th century, Kannada works both in quantity and quality declined considerably. In addition to this Kannada works of the period were mostly religious and theological in character. The rulers of Mysore and the Dalavoys did have a good literally taste. Some of them were writers. For example, Kalale Nanjaraja composed works in Kannada, Telugu and Sanskrit. The rulers of the period also patronized a large number of poets. From this point of view of inter-state relations are not of much significance. But, what is interesting is, that in spite of the fact that rulers were busily engaged in external wars, they were unable to devote some time for Fine arts and Literature.

A few historical and semi-historical works are of some use. Among them mention may be made of Mysore Doregala Poorvabhyudaya Vivara (1714); Mysore Nagarada Poorvothara (1740); Mysore Doregala Vamsavali (1800); Mysore Rajara Charitre (1800); Kalale Arasugala Vamsavali or Venupurada Kshatrigala Vamsavali (1830) and Devachandra's Rajavali Kathe (1838). These works were collected by colonel Mackenzie, in the late 18th century. He was an engineer in the British East India Company army. Wherever he went in South India, he collected all the information pertaining to historical religious places. His collection was so large that later on it was deposited in Calcutta, Madras and London. The above Kannada manuscripts

are deposited in the Madras Oriental Library, Madras. No doubt these works are valuable for the study of the History of Mysore. But Surprisingly they throw not much light on the relations of Mysore with European powers. It is difficult to understand why it was so. Probably, the persons who compiled the information were not interested in recording episodes which were not favorable to Mysore. Hyder Nama is a valuable work which throws light on the inter-state relations.

Among the sources available in English language, the most significant from the point of view of the present study are the records of Fort St. George. They are voluminous and varied. They are deposited in Tamil Nadu Archives, Egmore, Chennai (Madras). Broadly speaking, they may be classified as administrative and military records. The following are some of the valuable calendars, dispatches, diaries, letters and minutes available at the Tamil Nadu State Archieves, Egmore, Chennai.

1. Consultations, January 1700-1761.
2. Dispatches from England, 1701
3. Dispatches to England.
4. Country Correspondence.
5. Letters from Fort St. George.
6. Letters to Fort St. George.
7. Sundry books.
8. Diary and Consultation book.
9. Press list of ancient records at Fort St. George, Madras.
10. Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1893.

The above records are extremely valuable. Basically, they refer to two important aspects, pertaining to inter-state relations in South India in the 18th century.

1. The political motives and military actions, the diplomacy of the French and the English employed in the diplomacy in the Carnatic area. 2. They describe the involvement of Mysore at various periods in the struggles for the acquisition of Tamil Nadu. There is a good deal of bias in the records of the French and other valuable material. Only the records of St. George are extremely significant.

There are two works in English, which are contemporary in character. 1. Orme Robert: Historical fragments of the Mughal empire and Military transactions in Hindoostan. 2. Wilks Lieutenant Colonel Mark: Historical sketches of South India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore. These two works are valuable for the general description of wars in the Carnatic and personalities involved in them. The fact is that they represent pro-English views and opinions.

Another significant source in English is the 'A private diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai', published in twelve volumes covering from 1736 to 1761. These volumes are edited by H. H. Dodwell. Ananda Ranga Pillai maintained close contact with the French at Pondicherry and gave a detailed picture of events, personalities and places. He was an eye-witness to many deliberations.

The selections from Peshwa Dafter also form a very important source. In general, they record the activities of the Marathas in South India in the post-Aurangzeb period. Marathas were involved in the affairs of Carnatic. Marathas also very often invaded Mysore and collected money from the rulers and Dalavoys. Sometimes they were associated with the French. The Peshwa Daftars throw light on this problem. Originally, they were in Marathi language, and subsequently, they were translated into English. The political and economic interest of the Marathas are described in detail in these records.

The records in the Archives of Pondicherry are significant because they are helpful to understand the French point of view. This perception helps to correct the biased views of the English records. Originally, they were French and many important documents at the time of Dupleix and his successors made them available in English.

The source material for the present study is not only varied but also rich in detail. The Tirichinapally affair is the focal point of Mysore's relation with Tamil Nadu. The sources are often different perceptions of the events. And a close study of the sources has been attempted to find out the actual situation and the role of Mysore in it.

Historical Background

The History of Wodeyars of Mysore is an important landmark in the History of Karnataka. They came to prominence in the later part of the 16th century. According to the existing traditions and evidence, the Wodeyar

dynasty originated in 1399. Between 1399 and the 16th century, their history is very little and the evidence is not sufficient to get a comprehensive picture. The tradition points out to the usual mythological origin, when it says that two brothers Yaduraya and Krishnaraya belonged to the Yadava race and came from Dwaraka. In other words, the originators of the dynasty were attached to the mythology of Lord Krishna and the Lunar race. But they were the sons of the soil and later on to give them a glorified origin the myths were attributed. It may be said that the Wodeyar rulers in the beginning served the Vijayanagara Empire and followed the model created by Vijayanagara rulers. After the battle of Talikota in 1565, the Vijayanagara empire disintegrated. There was a power vacuum, and many local rulers made attempts to seize a part of the empire. Among them, the rulers of Mysore figured prominently in the Cauvery basin. Raja Wodeyar (1578-1617) was the first great ruler of the dynasty and the real history of the Wodeyars began with him.[18]

During the time of Raja Wodeyar, the Kingdom of Mysore was so small that it constituted 32 villages. Srirangapattana became the capital when it was conquered from the representative of Vijayanagara in 1610, by name Thirumala Raja. He also extended the Kingdom by conquering several places in Mysore and Mandya districts. The next outstanding ruler of the dynasty was Kanteerava Narasa Raja Wodeyar, who ruled from 1638 to 1659. His period was significant from the political and cultural points of view. Politically, it was a period of rivalry in South India among the rulers of Bijapur, the Marathas and the Nayaks of the Tamil country. And Kanteerava Narasa Raja Wodeyar had to face the aggressive policies of those states

and at the same time expand and consolidate Mysore Kingdom. As he was the man of ability suited to a political leader, he was able to achieve his goal. The Mysore Kingdom extended South towards the Tamil country. In this sense, it may be said that Mysore became an important power in the politics of the Far South. Coimbatore, Dindigul, Salem, Tirichinapally became the targets of Mysore expansion.[19]

Kanteerava Narasa Raja Wodeyar's period also witnessed the implementation of the policy of consolidation within the kingdom. One important office that had emerged in the administrative set up of the Wodeyars of Mysore was the office of Dalavoy. It was Raja Wodeyar-I who created this office in the 16th century. Dalavoy is a compound word consisting of two words, namely Dala and Boyi. It means mouth of the army or the man occupied this office was the mouth of the army or head of the army. In addition to that primary responsibility to the army, Dalavoy also looked after the general administration. He was chosen by the King and had to be loyal to the King. It was sometimes hereditary and sometimes not and the voice of the King was always uppermost. And, when the ruler was weak the Dalavoy appeared to have become powerful. Sensing this danger to royal authority Kanteerava Narasa Raja Wodeyar appointed many Dalavoys in his reign so that no one Dalavoy dominated in the administration. He also issued a coin in gold called *Kanteeraya* hana, which was popular until late 18th century. He patronized literature, established agraharas, constructed new temples, donated money to temples of all religious sects and promoted economic welfare.

The most outstanding ruler of the dynasty in the early phase of the history of Mysore was Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, who ruled from 1673 to 1704. There was an all-round development in Mysore during his reign. He laid the foundation for the future growth of Mysore in every sense of the term. From political and diplomatic point of view, his reign was a landmark because the future rulers, Dalavoys and Sarvadhikaris and even Hyder and Tippu basically followed the directions given by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. South India, during that time witnessed a period of significance in political and diplomatic changes. For example, the imperial power of the Mughals under ~~the~~ Aurangazeb had made a serious attempt to penetrate into South India through its arms. Even religious affiliation was not the positive policy in the diplomacy of the Mughals in the region. Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Golkonda became regional centers when Muslim power collapsed before Aurangazeb. He even made attempts to penetrate further. And thus, Mysore under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar came in contact with the Mughals. The challenging powers of the Marathas under Shivaji and his successors was another aspect to this inter-state relations. The Marathas challenged the Mughal imperial power and aggression and wanted to dominate in South India. On the western side of Mysore Kingdom was the strong power of the Keladi Nayaks, who were not friendly towards Mysore. Under these circumstances, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar had to decide the best policy options which promoted the interests of Mysore. He had the following options.

1) To join the Marathas.

2) To join the Mughals, because they were the super power in South India. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar chose pro-Mughal and anti-Maratha policy. He was so friendly with Aurangazeb, that he earned a title "Jagadevaraj" from him. He sent an embassy to Aurangazeb in 1699 and gave costly presents. In contrast to this, the Keladi Nayaks were following pro-Maratha and anti-Mughal policy.

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, as a diplomat did not simply depend upon the Mughal support for the survival. He believed in self-reliance and self-support. Accordingly, he tried to mobilize the resources internally to the maximum extent possible. For this purpose, he re-organized the administration of Mysore so thoroughly that it remained as a rock-bed for the future growth of Mysore. After securing safety at the Northern frontier, he extended the Kingdom in the east, west and the southern directions. And even penetrated many places in Tamil Nadu. Thus, by 1704 the Kingdom of Mysore had emerged as a prominent power in South India.

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was also a man of culture. He patronized Kannada and Sanskrit literature in his court. He was himself a scholar of merit. He donated generously to temples and agraharas and thereby the ancient tradition was preserved. In short, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's reign witnessed both the extension of the kingdom and the introduction of the efficient system of the administration. If Raja Wodeyar had laid the foundation of the dynasty, it was Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar who built its

superstructure, which was inherited by the Dalavoys of Mysore. His name is also significant in the cultural history of the dynasty. By 1704 Mysore was ready for further acts of adventure in inter-state relations in the context of the disintegration of Mughal empire after the death of Aurangazeb in 1707.[20]

After Chikkadevaraja, his son Kanteerava Narasaraja Wodeyar II ascended the throne (1704-13). He was dumb, yet was able to rule for about a decade by means of sign language through his minister Tirumaliah and commander (Dalavoy) Kantharajaiah. Then his son Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar (1713-31) became the king. He was a very weak king. So the Dalavoys became more and more powerful. The king had to pay a tribute of one crore rupees to the Nizam, the Nawab of Arcot and Murari Rao Ghorpade of Gutthi attacked the kingdom. In 1727, Peshwa Baji Rao I who laid a seize to Srirangapattana collected a "Chowth" (tribute) of Twenty-one lakh from that area. As Dodda Krishnaraja had no male issues, he adopted Chamaraja of Ankanahalli. But Chamaraja could not rule for more than two years (1732-34) because of the mischief of the Dalavoys, Devarajaiah and Nanjarajaiah who were acting as dictators. As he too had no male issue, queen mother Devajammanni (widow of Krishnaraja I) adopted Krishnaraja II, son of Chame Urs of Ankanahalli in 1734. He was a king by name only. The kingdom was totally ruled by Dalavoys Devarajaiah and Nanjarajaiah. It was during Krishnaraja's regime that Hyder joined the army as a soldier and quickly attained prominence. Attracted by Hyder's deeds on the battlefield, Krishnaraja gave him the title - Bahaddur. After overthrowing the Dalavoys, Hyder Ali became Sarvadhikari in 1761.[21]

In 1758 Hyder was appointed in the place of two Dalavoys who had died. As time passed, Hyder started meddling with the affairs of the state. He became so powerful that the scared Krishnaraja took decisions only after consulting Hyder. Army was organized by him. Krishnaraja II was succeeded by his son Nanjaraja in 1766. But he too was a weak and inefficient king. So Hyder completely took over the administration of the kingdom of Mysore.[22]

Political background

History as a study of the past involves the study of three basic questions, namely where, what and who. The first question relates to the place element in history and the second is related to the powers involved in a place and the last is related to the individuals, who played their roles in the drama of politics in the context of time element. In this section, as an introduction to the analysis of the Mysore relation with Tamil Nadu, an attempt has been made to briefly describe places, powers and personalities who were part of the study.

Arcot (north) district : It was an inland district on the eastern side of the Madras Presidency, with an area of 7386 square miles. The name was supposed to be a corruption of the Tamil aru-kadu (six forests), tradition stating that the country was once occupied by this number of forests in which dwelt an equal number of forests in which dwelt an equal number of rishis. On the north, the district was separated from Cuddapah by a portion of the eastern- ghats, locally known as the Tirupathi hills. North Arcot saw some

decisive battles. One of the Nawabs, Dost Ali, was defeated and killed in the sanguinary action at the Dhmalcheruru pass, in the Chandragiri taluk, by the Marathas, who had been called in by the Naiks of Tiruchinapally to avenge the annexation of their capital. His two successors were murdered; and in 1749 the Nawab Anwauddin was defeated and killed at Ambur, 50 miles west of Arcot, by his rival Chanda Sahib, assisted by the French and Muzaffar Jang. During the war that followed on the Coromandel coast Arcot, the capital of newly proclaimed Nawab Chanda Sahib, was captured by Clive on behalf of Muhammed Ali, the son of Anwar-ud-din who was closely besieged by Chanda Sahib and the French at Tirichinapally. Arcot fell into the hands of French in 1757. But Eyre Coote singly defeated Lally, the French general, at Wandiwase in 1760, and soon after retook every fortress that had been lost to the enemy. Hyder Ali, the Muhammadan usurper of the Mysore throne, during his invasion of the Carnatic in 1766 laid siege to Amber.

Arcot town : Headquarters of North Arcot district, Madras situated in the right bank of the Palar, 2 miles from Ranipet railway station in the Ranipet branch of the Madras railway. Formerly, it was the capital of the powerful Nawabs of the Carnatic; who were consequently often spoken of the history as the Nawabs of Arcot. In 1712, in order to facilitate operations against Mysore, Saadat-ullah-khan, commanding the Delhi forces, transferred his headquarters to Arcot, and for the twenty years of his power, and during the time of his successor Dost Ali, it remained the seat of government. But in 1740, the Maratha army of Raghuji Bhonsle over ran the district; Dost Ali was

killed in the battle. Safdar Ali, who succeeded Dost Ali, was murdered in 1742; and his successor, Saiyid Muhammed shared the same fate in 1744. During the next seven years, Arcot changed hands many times and in 1751 an English garrison occupied the fort. The capture and brilliant defence of Arcot in that year by Clive with a small force of 200 Europeans and 300 natives opposed to the large army Raja Sahib, the Nawab's son. In 1758, Arcot was surrendered to the French under Lally .In 1760 Colonel Coote captured Arcot.

Arcot(south)district : Aru-kadu was situated in the southeast of the Madras Presidency. In was bounded by East Bay of Bengal; South by Tanjore and Tirichinapally; West by Salem and North by North Arcot, and Chingleput within it lies the French settlement of Pondicherry.

In 1690, Fort St. David, about a mile north of Cuddalore, with all the country was purchased from the Marathas. On capture of Fort St. George in 1746 by French Admiral La Bourdonnais, Fort St. David became, for six years the headquarters of the company on the Coromandel coast for six years. During the Carnatic wars of 1749-61, when the English and the French first interposed in the internal politics of India, south Arcot played an important part, Cuddalore, Fort St. David, Girgee, Tyaga durgam, Vriddachalam, Tiruvannamalai and other places being the objects of repeated attacks and counter-attacks. In 1758, Cuddalore and Fort St. David were taken by the French and the fortifications of the latter were almost

leveled to the ground. In 1760, however, Eyre Coote recaptured Cuddalore and St. David fort.

Tirichinapally district : was an island district in the south of the Madras Presidency, lying within an area of 3632 square miles. It takes its name from the famous city which is its administrative headquarters. The word is popularly derived Trisirapalli, meaning the town of Trisira (the three-headed), a rakshasa or demon, the brother of Ravana, the villain of the Ramayana, who was said to have ruled the place. The district was bound on the east by Tanjore, the dividing line for some distance being the Coleroon river on the north by south Arcot and Salem; on the West by Coimbatore and Madura; and on the South by the State of Pudukottai.

The history of Tirichinapally goes back far into antiquity. The capital of the Chola Kings, who are mentioned in the Asoka inscriptions of third century B.C., and by Ptolemy in the second century A.D., was originally at Uraiyur, now a suburb of Tirichinapally city, and in the 11th century at Gangaj Kondapuram in the Udaiyarpaliyam taluk. The ruins of a splendid temple and tank are still standing at the latter place. About the middle of thirteenth century the district passed under the Hoysala Balla's of Dorasamudra and soon afterwards under the Pandyas of Madura, who in spite of occasional interruptions, continued in possession of it till the beginning of the 14th century, when it was overrun by the Muhammadans under the Malik Kafur, the general of Ala-ud-din Khilji of Delhi. It became a part of the rising Hindu empire of Vijayanagara and during the 16th century, after the downfall of that

dynasty, passed into the hands of the Nayak rulers of Madura. Viswanatha the founder of that time is said to have built the greater part of the fort and town of Tirichinapally; and about the middle of the 17th century. Chokkanatha, changed his capital from Madura to Tirichinapally and created the building known as the Nawabs' palace using a great deal of material of the celebrated palace built at Madura by his grandfather, Tirumala Nayak, as it is said.

The last of the Nayak rulers died childless in 1731, and the subsequent disputes as to succession were taken advantage of by the Nawab of Arcot. Chanda Sahib, his Dewan seized Tirichinapally and treacherously imprisoned queen Minakshi, as one of the claimants. She poisoned herself and the rivals called in the Marathas, who took Tirichinapally in 1741 and appointed Murari Rao, the adventurous Maratha ruler of Gooty, Governor of the town. Two years latter the Nizam-ul-Mulk, Subhedar of Deccan invaded The Carnatic and Tirichinapally surrendered to him. He appointed Anwar- ud -din as Nawab of Carnatic in 1744, and from that date Tirichinapally passed under the nominal rule of the Nawab of Arcot. During the wars of the Carnatic in 1744, and from that date Tirichinapally passed under the nominal rule of the Nawab of Arcot. During the wars of Carnatic, between 1749 and 1761, the famous rock fortress of Tirichinapally underwent more than one siege. On the first occasion (in 1751), Muhammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud -din, and his allies the English were besieged by Chanda Sahib, an aspirant to the Nawabship of the Carnatic, and his supporters were the French. A number of engagements took place between

the two parties, chiefly on the Srirangam island and in the villages bordering on the old road from Tirichinapally to Madras. Clive took a conspicuous part in the operations, and in the end Chanda Sahib and the French were defeated.

The second siege occurred in 1753. Nanjaraja, the General of the Mysore army which had been helping the English and Muhammad Ali in the previous operations, claimed Tirichinapally as his reward, alleging that it had been promised to him by a secret treaty with Muhammad Ali. His claim being disregarded, he laid siege to the place and attempted to reduce it by famine. Major Lawrence came to its relief. The French had meanwhile been greatly strengthened by reinforcements sent by Dupleix, and quitting Srirangam they crossed the Cauvery and on the plain close by the present Fakirs Rock. And they were attacked by Lawrence and defeated in the engagement which the historian Orme calls the battle of the Golden Rock. Lawrence proceeded to Tanjore to obtain reinforcements from the Marathas. On his return, he found that the French had blockaded the city on every side. He provoked them to a general engagement and defeated them again at the battle of the sugar- loaf Rock (now called the Golden Rock) not far from the present central jail.

When the war broke out in 1756, the French under D' Autenil once again tried to take Tirichinapally. The vigilance of captain Calliand, who hurried to its relief by forced marches from Madura, frustrated their designs. Their last attempt upon the rock was in 1759, when a detachment sent by Lally occupied Srirangam. Lally's defeat at Wandiwash upset his plans, and

the fall of Pondichery early in 1761, which established the success of the British army in southern India. And the treaty of Paris in 1763, which recognized Muhammad Ali as Nawab of Carnatic and placed Tirichinapally under his government, ended the conflict between the two nations. In 1768, Hyder Ali of Mysore devastated the district, and on the renewal of the war in 1780 he invaded its capital. His defeat at Porto Novo in the succeeding year compelled him to withdraw. The only other attempt upon the fort was made by his son and successor Tipu in 1790 was futile. Tirichinapally city is the headquarters of the district and taluk of the same name Madras is situated on the right bank of the river Cauvery river, 195 miles from Madras by a road and 250 miles by the South Indian Railway. It is the third most populous town in the Presidency.

Tirichinapally is a very ancient place. Popular legend carries its history back beyond the days of Ramayana. Later, the capital of the Chola Kingdom was once at Uraiyur, a suburb of the town which is identified with the Opqorpa mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (about A.D. 130). The local purana or history contains a story of the destruction of Uraiyur by a shower of sand. There was a flower garden, says the tale, in the Tirichinapally Rock, in which the sage Sarmuni raised Servardi flowers (chrysanthemum) for the worship of Shiva. A gardener stole some of the flowers and presented them to the Chola King, Parantaka daily. When the theft was discovered and the gardener was brought before the King, the latter pardoned him. Shiva was full of wrath and threatened and turned his face towards Uraiyur and rained sand on it. The King and Queen fled and as

they ran he was buried in the storm of sand and she fell into the river, but was washed ashore and protected by a Brahman. She gave birth to a son who was afterwards called to the throne, and was identified as the rightful heir by an elephant and was consequently called Karikala. It has been surmised that this account has reference to a Pandyan invasion. The king Parantaka II, whose son was Aditya-II alias Karikala, reigned in the tenth century.

Inscriptions have been found in the Srirangam and Jambukeshwaram temples which show that as late as the 15th and 16th centuries descendants of the Chola dynasty reigned at Uraiyur as vassals of Vijayanagara. In the 13th century, the Hoysala dynasty appeared to have held away to a time with its provincial capital at Samayapuram. The Musalmans succeeded in the 14th century and then came the Vijayanagaraa dynasty. During the rule of the Nayaks of Madura, Tirichinapally was an important place and for sometime their capital. The founder of that dynasty, Viswanatha Nayak, was supposed to have fortified the town and constructed the Teggakulam reservoir. One of his successors, Chokkanatha erected the building known as the Nawab's palace, obtaining the necessary materials by demolishing portions of the famous Tirumala Nayak's palace at Madura. This is also known as Mangammal's palace, after the Nayak queen's name.

In the wars of Carnatic, Tirichinapally was a scene of frequent hostilities between the English and the French. After the country was handed to the company, it continued for many years to be an important military

station. Troops were first stationed within the fort, next at Uraiyur, and subsequently in the present cantonment. The cantonment was formerly garrisoned by European and native regiments; but in 1878, when the Afghan war broke out, the whole European contingent was removed and the garrison was subsequently reduced to two regiments of native infantry.

Turaiyar : Town in the Musiri taluk, Tirichinapally district, Madras, Picturesquely situated near Pachaimalai hills, and far from the Kollaimalais in Salem. The most noticeable objects in the town are the large reservoir with stone steps and parapet walls, on which the floating festival is held, the god being taken round it on a raft; and the irrigation reservoir closeby, in the center of which is a curious building, three-storey high, in which the zamindar used to spend short periods when the reservoir was full of water. The building is now out of repair and rapidly falling into ruins, which is unfortunate, because it is a picturesque example of a semi-moorish style of architecture.

The Turaiyar zamindari has had a very chequered career, which is typical of the fortunes of many similar properties in Southern India. During the siege of Tirichinapally in 1752 a detachment of the Mysore army, assisted by some French troops, overran the estate deposed the reigning chieftain and put one of his cousins in his place. In 1755, the new chief having neglected to pay his tribute, a detachment of French troops and sepoys from Pondichery took the town, deposed him and reinstated his predecessor taking his palace. In 1758 Captain Calliand sent a detachment

under Captain Smith to restore the chief of whom the French had last expelled, as he was befriended by the chief of Ariyalur Udaiyar Palaiyam, who had always been bitter opponents of the French. Turaiyur was captured after some spirited skirmishing in the woods which then surrounded the place. The expelled chief was again reinstated and five companies of sepoys were left to protect him. The chief who had been ejected by captain smith escaped to Mysore. When, however, at the end of 1758, some of the troops had to be withdrawn from Turiyar, he took advantage of the opportunity to capture the town.

Pondicherry : The chief of the French settlement in India, the capital of which a town of the same name, is the headquarters of their governor. The town is situated of the Coromandel coast, about 12 miles north of the Cuddalore. The distance from Madras to Pondicherry is 122 miles by rail and 105 by road. French settlement was founded in 1674 under Francois Martin. In 1693 it was captured by the Dutch, but was restored in 1699. It was besieged four times by the English. The first siege under Admiral Boscawen in 1748 was unsuccessful. The second, under Eyre Coote in 1761, resulted in the capture of the place, which was restored in 1765.

The Coromandel coast : Between the Southern hills and the Eastern an expanse (100 miles in width) the lowland forms of the richest section of the Madras Presidency. The heavy south-west monsoon rainfall of the Western Ghats is unknown in the plains of eastern Madras, but compensation is unknown in the North-east, monsoon which usually succeeds the currents of

the former about 40 to 50 inches of rainfall on the average and it is not sufficient. It is a broad coastal plain in eastern Tamil Nadu State, southern India. It extends over an area of about 8,800 square miles and bound by the Bay of Bengal of the `east, the Eastern Ghats on the west, the Cauvery delta on the south, and the Utkal plains on the north, the region derives its name from the Tamil Cola Mandalam (land of the Chola an ancient dynasty that ruled the region from the middle of the 9th century A.D. to 1279).

Srirangam : Town in Tirichinapally district, Madras-2 miles north of Tirichinapally city and almost in the center of the island formed by the bifurcations of the Cauvery into two branches known as the Cauvery and the Coleroon.

Tanjore district : It is a West coast district In the south of the Madras Presidency. On the north the river Coleroon separates it from Tirichinapally and south Arcot districts; on the west it is bound by the state of Pudukkottai and Tirichinapally district; and on the south by the district of Madura. During the reign of Raja Raja Tanjore was built up as a powerful Nayak dynasty. This ended by the invasion of Chokkanatha of Madura, in 1662-Bijapur Sultan safeguarded the lien of Nayaka. He placed his general Venkaji to administer Tanjore kingdom. Gradually Venkaji declared himself the king of Tanjore. For 70 years, the Marathas managed their power in Tanjore by remaining as vassals to Bijapur Sulthan.

The English first came in contact with Tanjore in 1749, when they espoused the cause of a rival to the throne and attached Devikottai, which

the Raja eventually ceded to them. The Raja joined the English and Muhammad Ali against the French, but on the whole took little part in the Carnatic wars. The capital was besieged in 1749 and 1758, and parts of the country were occasionally ravaged. In 1773, the Raja fell into arrears with his tribute to the Nawab of Arcot, the ally of the English, and was also believed to be intriguing which Hyder Ali of Mysore and with the Marathas for military aid. Ultimately it became the British territory.

Tanjore City : Tanjore was successively the capital of the Chola, Nayak, and Maratha powers. It stood a siege by Chanda Sahib and the French in 1749, and afterwards captured by colonel Joseph Smith in 1773.

Tinnevelly district (Tirunelvely) : It is a district of the Madras Presidency which occupies the eastern half of the extreme southern and of the Indian peninsula. In shape it is roughly triangular having the Western Ghats and the sea as its eastern and southern boundary. On the north it is separated from Madura district by no natural features, but by a parallel drawn east and west through the town of Irudupatty. The capital of the rulers of Madura were the Pandyas. Then from the Nayak dynasty of Madura Tirumala Nayaka was a ruler.

In 1743, when the Nizam-ul-mulk, the Subhedar of the Deccan, expelled the Marthas from most of southern India, Tinnevelly passed under the nominal rule of the Nawabs of Arcot. All actual authority, lay in the hands of a number of independent military chiefs called Palegars, originally feudal barons appointed by the Naik deputies who on the fall of that dynasty had

assumed wider powers. They had forts in the hills and in the dense jungle with which his district was covered, maintained about 30,000 brave (though undisciplined) troops, and were continually fighting with each other or in revolt against the paramount power. A British expedition under Major Heron and Muhfuzkhan in 1755 reduced Tinnevelly to some sort of order, and the country was rented to the latter. He was, however, unable to control the Palegars, who formed themselves into a league for the conquest of Madura and advanced against him. They were however, signally defeated at a battle fought 7 miles north of Tinnevelly. But the utter failure of Mahfu's government induced the Madras government to send an expedition under Muhammed Yusuf, their sepoy commandant, to help him. It eventually became center of Tinnevelly, but rebelled in 1763 and was taken and banged in the following year. Henceforth the troops in Tinnevelly were commanded by British officers, while the country was administered, on behalf of the Nawab, by native officials. As this system of divided responsibility was not conducive to the general pacification of the country, the Nawab was induced, in 1781, to assign the revenues to the East India Company, and civil officers called superintendents of assigned revenue, were appointed for its administration. The British, however, were at that time too busy with the wars with Hyder Ali to be unable to pacify the country thoroughly, and the palegars continued to be troublesome.

Madras : Madras was founded in 1639, in the reign of Charles. The capital of Madras Presidency and the third largest town in the Indian empire, is built in a straggling fashion on the strip of land 9 miles long, from 2 to 4 miles wide

and 27 sq. miles in extent, on the shore of the Bay Bengal. Masulipatam, then the company's headquarters on the Coromandel coast, was hampered by the unfriendliness to the officials of the kingdom of Golconda, and it lay its distance from the native weaving and dyeing centers. In August 1639, Francis Day, built a fort namely Fort St. George.

French general, Za Bourdornais captured Fort St. George in 1746 and retained up to 1749 and gave back as the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French attack, for the second time was by Lally on this fort in 1759, and ultimately resulted in great failure.

Madurai district : It is in the Southern portion of the east coast of the Madras Presidency. It consists of a section of the plain stretching from the eastern slope of the mountain range of the Western Ghats to the sea, and includes the drainage basin of the Vaigali river. Parts of its south western and western border on the Western Ghats, were known as the Travancore hills, which divide the district from the native state of Travancore, and the north-western boundary runs over the highland plateau which separates two other sections of the same range, the Annamalai and the Palini hills, from one another. On the north, Madura is bound by the distracts of Coimbatore and Tirichinapally and the native State of Pudukottai, or the north-east by Tanjore on the east and south-east by the waters of Palk strait and the gulf of Mannar; and on the south and south-west by Tinnevelly district.

Early rulers Pandyas - Mallikafur's invasion 1310 - Muhammadans lost their grip in 1372, due to the political domination of Vijayanagaraa's rulers -Nayak's rule - famous Tirumala Nayak - Chikkadeva Raja Wodeyar invaded Madurai and invaded Tirichinapally - Madura faced political instability due to the weak rulers. Manganamal was reduced to instability.

Meanwhile the Nawabs of Arcot had become powerful enough to attack the south; and Chanda Sahib, son -in-law Chief Minister of the Nawab; Dost Ali, obtained Tirichinapally by cunning and the Madura by force. The Nayak ruler of the time thereupon called for the aid of the Marathas of the Northern Deccan; and in 1739 they marched south, defeated and killed Dost Ali at the pass of Damalcheruru between north Arcot and Cuddapah, levied an enormous indemnity from his son, captured and carried off Chanda Sahib to Satara, overran Madura and Tirichinapally and put Maratha Governors in charge of both towns. This was the last scene in the history of the Madura kingdom. And then, it was split up into a number of small principalities which hand no connected existence.

In 1743, the Subedhar of the Deccan drove out the Marthas, and the country again came nominally under the rule of the Nawabs of Arcot. Twelve years later, the English first appeared upon the scene. Major Heren marched south to force Madura and Tinnevelly to acknowledge the Nawab, Mohammed Ali, the company's chief motive in sending him being the expectation that the tribute thus obtained by the Nawab would help him repay the money he owed for assistance in the Carnatic wars. Little

resistance was met with and Madura and Tinnevelly districts were taken and were rented for 15 Lakhs to Muhfuz Khan, the Nawab's brother. The disorderly behaviour of the Palegars and the kallans (the colleroes of Orme) prevented him, from realizing his dues, and the company therefore sent Muhammad Yusuf, its commandant of Sepoys, to assist him. The latter restored to some extent, but in his turn rebelled, and was accordingly attacked by the company's troops and taken and hanged in 1764.

Madura city : Headquarters of the district and taluk of the same name Madras. The history of Madura city is largely that of the district, the religious and political life of which has from time immemorial centered in it. It is situated on the south bank of the Kigai river and on the main line of the South Indian Railway, 345 miles from Madras city. A branch railway has recently been opened to Mandapam on the end of the tongue of land which runs out into the sea to meet the island of Pamban. Nayak's period brought notable progress specially in art and architecture. For example, Sahassrasthamba mantapam, or hall of thousand pillars, one of the principal structured in the building, was erected by Arya Nayak Mudali, the general and minister of Viswanatha, the first ruler of the time. The temple forms parallelogram 850 feet long from north to south by 750 feet broad, surrounded by nine gopurams one of which is 150 feet high. These are conspicuous features in the landscape for miles around. The building is profusely ornamented which sculpture and painting, and contains a number of valuable jewels. The groups of figures carved from single huge stones in the Hall of a thousand pillars and elsewhere are marvels of industry and

elaboration. The temple is sacred to Siva in his form Sundareswara and to the local goddess Minakshi.

Hyderabad State : A native state better known as the dominions of His Highness the Nizam ; It forms a polygonal tract occupying almost the center of the Deccan Plateau. Berar and the Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency on the north-east, on the south it is bound by the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers, which separate it from the Guntur, Kurnool and Bellary districts of Madras. On the West it is bounded by the Ahmadnagar, Sholapur, Bijapur, and Dharawar districts of Bombay; and on the east by the Wardha and Godavari river, and the Krishna district of Madras. The state in equal is area to the Madras Presidency, minus the Coromandel coast and Coimbatore, or a little more than two and half times the area of Ireland, or one and two-fifths of the combined areas of England and Wales.

Asaf jab was the founder of Hyderabad state. He was the distinguished general of Aurangzeb. After long service under the Delhi emperor, distinguished alike in war and political sagacity, he was appointed Subebdar or Viceroy of the Deccan in 1713, with the title of Nizam-ul -Mulk, which had become the hereditary title of the family. The Mughal empire at this period was on the verge of decline, owing to internal desertion and attacks from without. Amid the general confusion, Asaf Tab had little difficulty in asserting his independence against the degenerate and weak occupants of the throne of Delhi, but had to repel the inroads of the Marathas, who were harassing the west of his newly acquired territory. His

independence was the cause of much jealousy at Delhi, and the court party secretly instructed Mubariz Khan, the Governor of Khandesh, to oppose him by force of arms. A battle was fought Shakarkhelda (Fathikhelda) in the Buldana district of Birar in 1724, when Mubariz Khan was totally defeated and lost his life. That battle established the independence of Asaf Jah, who annexed Birar, and fixed his residence at Hyderabad. At the time of his death in 1748, he was fairly established with the present state, including the province of Berar.

After his death, Nasir Jang, his second son, and Muzaffar Jung, his grandson by his daughters, strove for the succession. At this time the English and the French were contending for supremacy in the East, and each of the claimants secured the support of one of these powers; Nasir Jang's cause was espoused by the English, while Muzaffar Jang was supported by the French. The latter, however, fell a prisoner to his uncle, but, on the assassination of Nasir Jang, Muzaffar Jang was proclaimed the sovereign. Dupleix, the French Governor became the controller of the Nizam's authority. Muzzafar Jang was killed by some Pathan chiefs, and the French then selected Salabat Jung brother of Nasir Jang, as ruler. Ghazi-ud-din the eldest son of Asaf jah, who, it was alleged, had relinquished his claim at first, now appeared as a claimant, supported by the Marathas, but his sudden death put a stop to further struggle. The English and the French were now contesting power influence in the Deccan; but the victories of Clive in Carnatic caused the latter to turn their attention to their own possessions which were threatened, and to leave Salbat jang to shift for himself. Nizam

Ali Khan, the fourth son of Asaf jah at this juncture obtained the support of the English on the promise of dismissing the French from his service. Salbat Jang was dethroned in 1761, and Nizam Ali Khan was proclaimed ruler.

The advent of the Europeans makes the beginning of an era on the History of India. The arrival of Europeans was different from that of the earlier invasions of the foreigners from the Aryans to the Mughals. All the earlier invaders had come to India by land. The Europeans came by sea and sea-power was their source of strength and that was India's weakness. Another point of difference was, the Europeans in the beginning came as traders and subsequently entered politics and built the empire. They believed that they were superior to Indians. Industrial revolution in the early 18th century had given them some additional power. As far as the present study is concerned only the English and the French figure very prominent.

The French : Like other European powers, the French in the beginning came to India for the purpose of trade. They established their company in France in 1615, called the French East India Company for this purpose. It was sponsored by the Government of French East India Company. This distinction between the two companies had important consequences for the respective power in India. The company was given monopoly of trade in India for a period of 12 years in the beginning and afterwards it should be renewed.

The French first established their trade center on the west-coast and not on the east-coast. Surat in Gujarat was their first trade center.

Afterwards they captured Trincomale from the Dutch. They did not stay for long in that place when they were driven from that place. And in 1672, they took a place near Madras called San Thome from the Dutch. In 1674, they lost that place again to the Dutch. Meanwhile on 1672, they had obtained on lease a place called Pulicherry, near Kadalur on the east-coast. A few French merchants had settled there. When the French lost San Thome, they moved to Pulicherry under the leadership of a French Officer by named Francois Martin. About 60 Frenchmen moved from San Thome to Pulicherry. Martin after his arrival began to construct fortification in Pulicherry. This place later came to be known as Pondicherry. In 1673 the French also occupied Chandranagore. Martin died in 1706 and was succeeded by Lenoir. He followed the policy of Martin. After Lenoir, M. Dumas became the administrator of Pondicherry. He converted a small rural settlement namely Pondicherry into an attractive settlement. The visitors were attracted to this place. Dumas maintained friendly relations with the Nawab of Arcot, namely Dost Ali and his son-in-law Chanda Sahib. Dumas' aim was to protect the settlement from the possible attack of native powers. He inspired confidence in French power and French statecraft in the mind Dost Ali. It is said that Dumas was the first Frenchman in India to visualize the possibility of building a French empire in India.

We may note this basic idea because it was significant in the context of the inter-state relations in south India in the near future. Dumas' diplomatic policy in essence was to use Indians to subdue their people for France. It did

not involve direct control of Indian territory by the French. It suggested that the indirect contract was less risky and more profitable.

To implement the above scheme on the Indian soil, it was necessary for Dumas to make the French as a model and modern military power in India. That is why he made Pondicherry a center of attraction for native rulers. He first strengthened the fortification of Pondicherry by installing guns and equipping with modern arms. He raised a European army consisting of 12,000 soldiers. He raised a separate army consisted of Indians. For this purpose be recruited 5000 Indians. Indian soldiers unlike in the native army were armed and drilled in European manner by Dumas. In short, it was said that Dumas was responsible for the first time to bring into existence a modern Indian army.

The administration of Dumas at Pondicherry was also significant because of the beginning of the French policy of interference in the internal affairs of the native powers. At that time, the Nawabs of Arcot and Marathas were rivals. Marathas in their quest for expansion had entered the Carnatic. They had to be checked if the Nawab of Arcot had to survive. Dost ali and Chand Nawab looked towards Dumas for help in order to check the aggression of the Marathas. Marathas were prevented from entering Carnatic because of the help given to Dumas. Marathas were a terror to Mughals and if they had succeeded in putting down the Nawab of Arcot, then they had become the source of trouble to the foreigners. The policy of Dumas was so impressive that the emperor conferred a title, Nawab on

Dumas and a command of 2000 horsemen as a guard. He was also officially made an officer of the Mughal empire. The French under Dumas at Pondicherry laid the foundation of the French policy in South India and his successor Francis Dupleix carried the policy intensively when he came to power in 1741. The French by the beginning of the 18th century were well established at Pondicherry and had laid down a particular line of policy to be followed in South India. This policy was responsible for bringing Mysore into the affairs of the Europeans in the second half of the 18th century and this aspect would be discussed in detail elsewhere.

The English : Like other European powers, the English came to India on a purpose of trade. A group of merchants, pooling their resources in the form of an established company called the East India Company. The Government of England gave charter to the company and also a monopoly of trade in India. When the Company was established, the Mughals were ruling the country. The Company established various trading centers both on the East-coast and the west-coast.

They contacted the Mughal emperors to secure trade privileges and also to establish trading center. They established a factory at Surat in 1612. They also established factories in the interior part of North India like Gogra, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Ajmir. They fought against Portuguese and the French for the monopoly of the trade.

In course of time, three important centers emerged as the English strong holds. They were Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. In 1639, they

established their settlement at Madras called St. Fort George. At Calcutta they established Fort St. William in 1644. They secured Bombay in 1688 when the company purchased it from king Charles II.

The English for about a century after 1600 restricted themselves mainly to trade. There was a difference between the policy of the French and the English in this respect. If the French under Dumas showed interest in native affairs, the English hardly showed any interest in the political affairs of the native powers, however, the English carried on the fortification of their trading centers. The English began to enter the political arena in India in about 1748. And the English later on adopted the French model for their protection, Dumas was the founder of this policy and Dupleix unsuccessfully tried to implement the policy and the English were marvelously successful in adopting that policy in the inter-state relation of South-India in the second half of the 18th century under Robert Clive.

Hyderabad : Hyderabad was a very important power in South India. It was created by Asaf Jah in 1713. Until his death in 1748, Hyderabad was active in the struggle for power along with the Marathas and Mysore. After 1748, there was a war for succession to the throne in which Europeans took inter-state relations in South India.

Marathas : The political power of the Marathas was established by Shivaji in 17th century. After his death the real power went into the hands of Peshwas. The Peshawa was an office created by Shivaji. Peshwa was a Chief Minister looked after the general administration of the kingdom. The headquarters of

the Peshwas was Poona. During the period of our study the Maratha power was lead by Balaji Vishwanatha (1714-1720); Baji Rao (1720-40) and Balaji Baji Rao (1740-1761). The Marthas were interested in the Carnatic and also very often invaded the Wodeyar's kingdom of Mysore. They claimed that they had right to collect the 'Chauth' from different districts of South India. They also opposed the ascendancy of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Arcot : Arcot was a center of political power in South India in the 18th century. The rulers of the region were called Nawabs. Arcot was politically under the control of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Nawab Sadatulla Khan (1780-1733), Ali Dost khan (1733-1740), Safdar Ali (1740-1742), Anwar-ud-din (1744-1749) and Mohammed Ali Walajah (1751-1795) were important Nawabs of Arcot. Like Hyderabad, Acrot was a focal point of South diplomacy and conflict between the English and the French in the 18th century.

Minor chieftains : After the disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire, Madhura, Tanjore and Ginge came under the control of the chieftains called Nayaks. The area was located in the lower Cauvery basin. It was rich in agricultural and natural resources. Later on Tanjore came to be controlled by the Marthas. The Nawabs of Arcot claimed paramountcy over this region. Mysore was interested in Tirichinapally. So the small political units of the area were caught in between the major powers of South India. European powers also joined for the control Tirichinapally, Tanjore and Madhura in the

second half of the eighteenth century. Mysore was deeply involved in the affairs of Tirichinapally.

Asaf Jab : He was the founder of Hyderabad state in 1713. He was called Nizam-ul-Mulk. In the beginning, he worked as the Viceroy of the six Mughal provinces of the Deccan. The Nizam was ambitious and unscrupulous. He decided to rule the Mughal provinces independently of Mughal authority in Delhi. He even fought war against the Mughal forces and became victorious. After 1720, he became the master and independent. He followed anti-Maratha policy. He died in 1748. He was successful in making Hyderabad a stable political power.

Balaji Viswanatha (1714-1720) : He was the founder of the Peshwa rule in Deccan and South India. He was in power between 1714-1720. He made Maratha power prominent, peaceful and prosperous. It is said that Balaji Viswanatha won the Swarajya from the Mughals without a battle. He impressed the Mughal emperor with the prestige of the Maratha arms. He strengthened the position of Sahu, the Maratha king on the throne. He founded Maratha confideracy consisting of various Maratha chiefs. He acquired the right of collecting Chauth and Sir Deshmukhi over the 6 provinces of the Deccan.

Baji Rao-I (1720-1740) : He was the son of Balaji Viswanatha. Sahu appointed him as Peshwa. As Peshwa, he further strengthened the Maratha power. He was a great soldier and leader of men. He fought against Nizam and forced him to pay 50 lakh rupees as war indemnity. His contributions to

Maratha power were two : 1) he tried to expand the Maratha power in the north 2) he tried to ensure harmonious cooperation of the Maratha confideracy.

Balaji Baji Rao (1740-1761) : He was the son of Baji Rao. Maratha glory rose to greater heights and at the same time faced disaster. In the historic battle of the third battle of Panipat he fought in 1761. In this war the Maratha and Ahmed Shah Abdali of Afghanistan participated. The Marathas were defeated. This defeat led to the disintegration of Maratha power.

Nawab of Arcot : During the period of our study Arcot was ruled by five Nawabs. The Nawab Sadatulla Khan (1708-1733), Ali Dost Khan (1733-1740), Safdar Ali (1740-1742), Anwar -ud-din (1744-1749), Muhammad Ali Walajah (1751-1795). These Nawabs were puppets in the hands of outside powers. Originally, they were controlled by the Nizams. The inter-quarrel among them for power led to the European interference. The English and the French sided with rival candidates for the throne. Mysore was also involved in the internal conflict at Arcot. The details of these affairs would be discussed in the appropriate chapters.

Joseph Francis Dupleix : He was the most important personality in the history of inter-state relations of South India in the 18th century. He was the Governor of Pondicherry and the French empire in India between 1744-1754. He succeeded Dumas to the position at Pondicherry. At Arcot, Dupleix supported the cause of Chanda Sahib against Muhammed Ali, and English for the Nawabship of Arcot and Tirichinapally. Dupleix tried to enlist the

support of Mysore and other native powers on the side of Chanda Sahib in 1751. He upheld the claims to succession of Raja Sahib, son of Chanda Sahib between 1752-1753. Dupleix also tried to seek Maratha leader Murari's assistance against Muhammed Ali in 1752. It is interesting to note that Dupleix also tried to negotiate alliance with Mysore to secure Tirichinapally to Kalale Nanjarajaiyya between 1752-1753.

Godeheu : He succeeded Dupleix as the French governor of Pondicherry. He was in power between 1754 and 1755. He concluded the provisional treaty with British commander Saunder, during Carnatic war of 1754. Between 1754 and 1755 he tried to follow the policy of pacification. That policy had an adverse effect on Mysore. Kalale Nanjarajayya of Mysore corresponded with Godeheu on the Tirichinapally issue between 1754-1755.

De-Leyrit : He succeeded Godeheu as French Governor of Pondicherry. He was in power between 1755-1758. De-Leyrit's relations with Nanjarajayya was interesting. He pressed him for the dues to the French. De-Leyrit's attitude on Salabat Jung's invasion of Mysore in 1755 was unfavourable to Mysore. In short De-leyrit is relation with Mysore was something different from that of Dupleix.

Robert Clive : He was a clerk in the East India Company in Madras. He came to prominence during his siege and capture of Arcot in 1751. His role in Srirangam was an important event. He jointly participated with Lawrence in this campaign. His role in the Carnatic wars gave a new turn in his career. He laid the foundation of British power in India.

Thomas Saunders : He was the Governor of Madras from 1750-1755. He played a very important role in Tirichinapally affairs. He concluded provisional treaty with Dupleix in 1754. He resigned in 1755.

Captain Dalton : He was a commander of the English forces. He commanded an English detachment at Tirichinapally for Nawab Ali in 1752. He had ably served the British army in various capacities. He was in contact with kalale Nanjarajaya. He made a surprise attack on Srirangam in 1753. He repulsed the Mysore army at Tirichinapally and ably defended it.

Thomas Cooke : He was an officer in the British army. He acted as commissioner for effecting an accommodation between Nawab Muhammad Ali and Karachuri Nanjarajaiah in the Tirichinapally affairs in 1753. He also negotiated with native power during Carnatic wars.

Several places, powers and personalities interacted in the inter-state relations of South India and Mysore as a power of considerable importance was in contact with those places, powers and personalities.

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CHAPTER II

POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE EARLY WODEYARS WITH TAMIL NADU UP TO 1673

In this Chapter Political relations of early Wodeyars of Mysore with Tamil Nadu from 1610 onwards and up to 1673 has been examined. The 17th century was a period of Political decline of Vijayanagara under Aravidu dynasty. In 1565, Vijayanagara was defeated by the coalition of Muslim rulers in the historic battle of Talikota. That war was mainly responsible for the political decline of the Empire. Vijayanagara was a South India power up to 1565. It consisted of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra and Kerala regions. It was a feudal and federal structure. It had a decentralized set up. Nayaks of different categories and classes existed in the Vijayanagara Empire from 1399 to 1565. The Wodeyars of Mysore were part of the Empire. Their territory was very small. It was located mainly in Mysore district. For example in 1560, it was recorded that the kingdoms of Wodeyars consisted of 33 villages and it had a group of 200 soldiers. Likewise Tamil Nadu had bigger Nayaks under the empire. Among them mention may be made of Nayaks of Madurai, Nayaks of Tanjore and Nayaks of Jinjee.

After the battle of Talikota, political relations between the Nayaks and Palegars on the one hand and Vijayanagara on the other hand was gradually weakened. The feudal, federal and decentralized set up collapsed and as a result it, there was political rivalry among the Nayaks. It was in those political circumstances the Wodeyars of Mysore made a serious attempt to expand their territories. For example in 1610 Raja Wodeyar I

captured Srirangapattana under the Aravidu ruler. Srirangapattana became the Capital of the kingdom of Mysore. The rulers of Mysore claimed that they were the inheritors of the Vijayanagara traditions for example the rulers of Mysore continued the Dasara celebrations of Vijayanagara. Even the Wodeyars assumed the titles of the Vijayanagara empire. Likewise, the Wodeyars of Mysore between 1610 and 1673 tried to push towards Tamil Nadu. Raja Wodeyar I Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar, Dodda Devaraja Wodeyar were the prominent rulers of this period who made attempts to expand towards Tamil Nadu. Madurai in Tamil Nadu became the focal point in the relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu. Raja Wodeyar I (1578-1617) had a bitter relationship with Tirumala and Venkata I. He conquered Srirangapattana in 1610. He ruled according to the ideal of Rajadharma. He organized the administrative measures and implemented the appointment of the Dalavoy or the commander in chief. In this way he laid foundation for the beginning of Mysore-Tamil Nadu relations as described below.

Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-1659) was an outstanding ruler of this period. He succeeded Immadi Raja Wodeyar. He fought against Bijapur in the north of his Kingdom between 1639 and 1641. And laid a siege of Maratahalli between 1641 and 1642 he acquired Samballi. And he annexed Hampapura in 1664, and Periyapatna and other territories between 1644 and 1646.

He acquired Basavapatna in 1647. His relationship with the Nayaks of Ikkeri in the north and west was not cordial. Madurai became the focal point in Mysore- Tamil Nadu relations between 1655-1659. Madurai was also an issue between Mysore and Bijapur during 1654. The relationship is described below. He continued the Dasara tradition of Vijayanagara. C. Hayavadana Rao considers him as the Maker of Mysore.

Devaraja Wodeyar (1659-1673) was another important ruler of this period. He succeeded Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I to the throne of Mysore. He had unfriendly relation with Nayaks of Ikkeri and the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara. He made many conquests in Mandya, Mysore and Chamarajanagara districts. It was during his reign Erode and other places in Tamil Nadu were acquired for the kingdom of Mysore between 1667 and 1668. In the following pages facts related to Mysore - Tamil Nadu relations are described.

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In 1614, the chiefs of Satyagala and Madura under the leadership of Nanjaraja Wodeyar of Hadinadu fought against Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Early in 1614 Raja Wodeyar apparently found in Nanjaraja Wodeyar of Hadinad twenty thousand country a serious competitor for the sovereignty of the Srirangapattana province. At the head of the large army levied from the Chiefs of Alambadi, Kollegala, Yelandur, Satyagala and Madura (Tange Madure Yavariud Kappada Panadol Kattida Kaalalgal). Nanjaraja[1] began the offensive against Raja Wodeyar by walking away with the latter's horse (named Meghapushpa) stationed in Yelandur a frontier fort of Mysore

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(Edadoreyemba gadi-goonte). Raja Wodeyar decided upon hostilities and laid siege on Tayur. Nanjaraja proceeded by way of Ammachavadi. Raja Wodeyar surprised him in the neighborhood of the hill overlooking Vatahalu and Ganganur[2] and began to obstruct his passage. A fierce fought ensued in which Nanjaraja was with considerable loss, slain and camp plundered. In February 1614[3] Terakanambi and Ummattur with their dependencies[4] which had belonged to Nanjaraja were annexed to Mysore. The Hadinadsime was however left in charge of Chandrasekara Wodeyar's younger brother of Nanjaraja.[5] Raja Wodeyar's Kingdom had extended up to the border of the territory of the Nayaks of Madura in Tamil Nadu.

The expansionist policy of Mysore was a source of great worry to the Nayaks of Madura and the other local Chiefs in the South of Mysore. The Nayak was afraid that the Mysore would eventually cast its eyes on Madura. So the Chief was taking all possible steps to destabilize Mysore. He instigated the chiefs of Heggadadevana Kote Kattemalalvadi, Danayakana Kote and so on in the Southern border of Mysore and set them against Mysore. We may notice one important factor in these activities of the feudal Chiefs. That was the principle of expansion. Expansionism was the most important concept that governed the political events of the period. Military activities covered a major part of the history of the reign. Ambition to acquire more territory, rivalry, jealousy, force and internal warfare were the features that characterised the political events. The local Palegaras in the South and West of Mysore were alarmed by the expansionist policy of the Raja of Mysore. They naturally sought the intervention of the neighboring powers in

order to save their liberty. The policy of expansion followed by Mysore and the anxiety of the other chiefs to neutralize its power resulted in the formation of hostile camps against Mysore. As usual the Nayak of Madura separated the Palegars. In the South of Mysore while the chief of Ikkeri came to the assistance of Periyapattana in the West. Jagadevaraya sent his army under his general Gopalrajaiya of Kattemalalavadi. A big union of different chiefs was formed. The Mysore army soon marched to the South and completely put down the rebel chiefs in the battle at Satyagala and Hura and annexed the principalities of Heggadadevana Kote and Kattemalalavadi to Mysore. Next Chamaraja moved to Periyapatna defeating on the way the army of Jagadevaraya led by Gopalarajaiya and invaded the fort of Periyapatna. The Mysore army captured alive Singalaraya the commander of the Keladi army who had come to the assistance of Periyapatna and cut his nose, when further resistance was impossible. Nanjunda Arasu of Periyapatna capitulated agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 3000 Varahas to Mysore.[6]

The effect of this campaign was that it put down to a great extent the recalcitrant activities of the Nayak of Mudura and the Palegar of Ikkeri in Mysore territory. Secondly, the territory that Chamaraja in the campaign in the South and West of Mysore was a land of elephants. Many of the Chiefs that were defeated by Mysore in those battles between 1625 and 1627 agreed to supply war elephants required for the Mysore army. With these war elephants Chamaraja reorganized his army and made it stronger. Thirdly, the tribute paid by these chiefs enriched the exchequer of Mysore.

Finally these victories established peace in the South and West of Mysore was able to concentrate his attention on reduction of Channapatna.

The reduction of Channapatna was an important achievement of Chamaraja Wodeyar. For Channapatna was originally not a part of the Karnataka viceroyalty of Srirangapattana. Its acquisition now partially completed the conquest of Srirangapattana by Mysore. Secondly the viceroyalty of Channapatna had large extent. The acquisition of such an important province considerably extended the territorial limits of Mysore. Fourthly, the conquest brought much wealth to Mysore and increased its economic resources. Fourthly, the conquest of Channapatna by Mysore opened the way to advance towards Ikkeri in the northwest and Madura in the west through the Baramahals. It is possible to check the expansionist activities of Mysore that Sriranga of Vijayanagara had created the province of Channapatna and stationed his own representative there. With the fall of Viceroyalty, Mysore became free to launch its attacks in other directions. On the whole, by these conquests Mysore gradually started rising as a single independent Kingdom in Karnataka.

Basavalinganna the commander of Chamaraja Wodeyar V put down the rebellion of Ghatta-Mudaliar in 1627. Basavaliganna proceeded against Ghatta- Mudaliar (Ghatta-Madanari) a recalcitrant Chieftain in the South-East of Mysore below the ghats. Ghatta-Mudaliar was forced to submit and sue for peace with the Dalavoy tendering 3000 varahas with an elephant (named Chengodeya) and an Ivory Palakeen.[7] Following closely on

Basavalinganna's return, Ghatta Mudaliar, it is said[8] again proved troublesome to Mysore. About the end of 1627, Basavalinganna was sent against him a second time Ghatta-Mudaliar was thoroughly humbled and an annual tribute of 3000 varahas settled on him.

The inscriptions, we learn that Kantirava was ruling Mysore seated on the Jewelled throne in Srirangapattana.[9] In the actual works of government he had the active assistance of the Dalavoy and the officers. While the administration was conducted in the traditional manner the institutions of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar were continued with regularity and vigor. Among the officers of Kantirava Chaluvaiya of the Kalale family was the superintendent of the Mysore-Nagarada-Hobli vicchara-sime Haridasaiya was a Chavadi- Manager and Channakrishna-pandit was the Chief ministerial officer (samastadhikara chamatkarnia) in charge of the Salem country.[10]

Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I was a contemporary of Tirumala Nayak of Madura (1623-1659) and Sriranga of Vijayanagara. In 1642 Venkata II died and Sriranga VI succeeded to the throne of Penukonda and he was Kantirava's loyal feudatory. The earliest record pointing to Kantirava's loyalty to Sriranga is a historic one dated in March 1643 in which he acknowledges the latter's suzerainty.[11] This document is of particular importance from the point of view of Kantirava's own political position in relation to the Vijayanagara Empire. For, in it he refers to himself as taddakshanda -bhujadanda-nanda[12] which literally means that he was the

proper supporter of Sri Ranga in the South and conveyed that he was the right-hand man of Sri-Ranga. These expressions were not however mere literally flourishes. With reference to Kantirava's achievements they must be termed significant. During 1639-1642, Kantirava as a loyal feudatory of the empire had as we had seen actually saved the South of Vijayanagara by successfully stemming the tide of Muhammedan advance in that direction and stood as an effective barrier to the aggressions of Madras and other powers in the South. By 1643, Kantirava had not only succeeded in maintaining the integrity of Mysore as a kingdom but also in a wider sense rendered a signal service to the cause of the Vijayanagara Empire. Indeed he had enjoyed the implicit confidence of the Emperor and reciprocated wholeheartedly the trust laid in him.[13]

Yet the general political position in the country particularly in the North and the North-west of Mysore during 1642-1644 was insecure in May 1642, shortly after his return from the Southern campaign.

By September 1647, Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar was at the height of his power securely established on the throne of Mysore.[14]

It was during the Mahanavami celebrations of that year that Shivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri seeking probably a friendly alliance with Mysore sent an embassy to the court of Kantirava with presents of robes and cash. Kantirava in view of the accession by treachery of Shivappa Nayaka, it is said that he rejected the offer sending back the envoy.[15]

During the reign of Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I the politics in Tamil Nadu showed signs of opposition to Vijayanagara ruler Sriranga VI at Penugonda. In south in Tamil Nadu, Tirumala Nayaka of Madurai had been asserting his independence showing signs of disaffection towards Vijayanagara of Sriranga VI, the Nayaks of Gingee and Tanjore were likewise displaying the same tendency.

In the South, in Tamil Nadu in 1659, the territory of Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar up to Danayakana Kote and Satyamangalam and with the Karnataka-Bijapur-Payanghat in the East. It practically covered the whole of the territory of Jayadevaraya. While in the West, it had been extended up to Coorg absorbing a major portion of the kingdom of the Changalvas (including Nanjarayapatna). The tendency on the part of Mysore to advance further in the North and the North-west while maintaining her integrity in the South and the South-east as against Madurai and other powers in Tamil Nadu had already begun to manifest itself towards the close of the reign. During 1647-1650, Tanjore, Madura and Gingee in Tamil Nadu were represented by respective ministers in the court of Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar. In Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar's stables at Srirangapattana were captured in war with the Nayaka of Madura. The king's chiefs of Tamil Nadu also sent horses and elephants as a tribute to him.[16]

Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar's political activities in Tamil Nadu from 1641-1642 were practically the acquisition for the kingdom of Mysore

of Samballi, Dantahalli, Singanallur, Kaveripuram, Toleya, Changappadi and Maratahalli in the South and the South-east between March 1641 and July 1642.[17] And there were already indications of Mysore having an eye on Tirichinapally as the farthest limit of any projected scheme of her expansion southwards.

Though the political development of Mysore had been rendered possible by the aggressions of Bijapur in the North and Madura in the South, Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar remained loyal to the Vijayanagara Empire under Venkata II. In the Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant made in April 1639, he acknowledges the sovereignty of Venkata seated on the throne of Ghanasaila (Penukonda).[18] Further it is interesting to note that he called himself in that record a Mahamandalesvara (viceroy) in keeping with the old position of Tirumala II and made the grant having informed the Lord Venkata of the same.[19] In a historic record dated in December 1640, he styles himself as " the great ruler of Mysore" (Sriman-maha-maisura-adhipa) indicating his prominent position in Mysore and refers to Terakanambi as a grant made to him in perpetuity by Venkata II (namma doretanakke rayarinda namage palisida Terakanambi). Is overlordship was clearly acknowledged.[20] And in another record Lithic dated March 1642, Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar.

At the approach of autumn Kantirava in consultation with astrologers fixed up the programme of Mahanavami. Kantirava got addressed palm-leaf letters to the ruling chiefs and feudatories inviting them to the festival. The

chiefs of Narasimhapura (Hole-Narasipur) Belur, Kunigal, Magadi, Nanjarayapatna the Beda chief and the Kodagu, Maleyala, Konkana and Tuluva chiefs went over to Srirangapattana with presents (kanike) while the local feudatories of Kantirava proceeded with tribute and large supplies in addition (balu alpa kanike kappa sahita) Ikkeri, Tanjore (Tanjavuru), Madura (Madhure) and Gingee (Tenje, Tenji, Chenje) were among the powers represented.

When Kantirava was engaged in his wars with Ranadullah Khan, Tirumala Nayaka of Madura would often create disturbances in the South with the help of the Local Palegaras who were hostile to Mysore. The Nayak of Madura wanted to create conditions of insecurity in the region in order to divert Kantirava's attention. Kantirava had thus to face two problems simultaneously namely the invasion of Mysore by Bijapur in the North and the insurrections instigated by the Nayak of Madura in the South. Early in 1641, Pattadaiya the eldest son of Ghatta Mudaliyar of Samballi rebelled against Kantirava and attacked Danayakanakote with the support of Tirumala Nayak of Madura.[21] But the Mysore army soon marched forth and defeated Ghatta Muduliyar first at Marathalli in 1641 and again at Samballi in August 1642. Marching through Tolya, the Mysore army captured several places dependent on Ghatta Mudaliar. Like Nallur, Changapadi, Tiruchengod and Tirichinapally and then returned to Srirangapattana with much booty.[22] The rebellion in the south was quelled and Kantirava was free to meet the threats from Bijapur in the Northern part of his Kingdom.

During these systematic conquests of Bijapur and Golkanda, Sriranga had joined his Southern feudatories with the intention of driving away the foreign invaders. But his action was wholly unequal to his ambitions. Proenza writes that Narasinga (Sriranga) spent more than a year with the three Nayaks in the midst of festivities, feasts and pleasures during which the Muhammadans quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. Joys gave place to jealousies and divisions. In order to promote their own interests, the three Nayaks again deserted Sriranga. Rejected again by the Nayaks Narasinga (Sriranga) established his court in the forest thieves (kallans) lying to the North of Tanjore where he spent four months a prey to all discomforts and his courtiers soon abandoned him the grand monarch, who was the richest in India was forced to beg for help from the king of Mysore, the vassal of his crown. He received from Kantirava of Mysore an invitation to chose for his stay a province more agreeable to him and assurance of a brilliant treatment worthy of his rank and he eagerly accepted the offer so obliging and found a hospitality which even surpassed the promise made to his ambassadors.[23] The statement of Proenza that Sriranga was given asylum by Kantirava Narasaraja of Mysore was corroborated by the Kannada source Mysuru Rajacharitere.[24] According to the Srirangapattanada kaifiyat, Sriranga retired to the Ummattur country from where he must have recovered many of his possessions.[25] It is obviously a reference to Kantirava's conquest in the Baramahal in 1650-57.

Why did Kantirava interfere in the polities in Tamil Nadu ? It is hard to admit Hayavadana Rao's view that Kantirava took up the cause of Sriranga

in the Baramahals as a loyal feudatory of the empire.[26] By that time Vijayanagara was no longer a vital force. It was merely a name after 1565, just as the Mughal empire after 1757. In fact Sriranga was forced to go out his capital Vellore and was wandering without a home at that time. After his defeat at Vellore in 1647, Sriranga became a “King without a Kingdom and a helpless fugitive at the court of one of his subordinates”.[27] It was too late to think of "imperial restoration" at that time, if as Hayavadana Rao assumes, Kantirava took up the "imperial cause". In Carnatic he could have done that still earlier, at least before Sriranga's defeat at Vellore in 1647. When Mysore was actually free from all troubles, he enjoyed peace at home. The fact that Kantirava Narasaraja remained neutral in Sriranga's wars between 1647- 1649 showed that he was not interested in the cause of Sriranga at all. Kantirava's main object in entering Carnatic in 1650 was his self-interest. He was interested in the reduction of the Kingdom of Madura, the traditional enemy of the Golkonda army and Sriranga were by his side, Kantirava felt it would be easier and safer for him to attack Madura through the territory of Jagadevaraya in the east. He could mobilize greater resources with the help of Mirjumla and Sriranga to fight Adilsha who was their common enemy and then to attack Madura. S.K. Aiyanagar also holds the view that Kantirava was not interested in the cause of Sriranga in Carnatic.[28] A critical examination of the different sources reveals that it was his desire to conquer Maduara that compelled Kantirava to interfere in the politics of Carnatic and to start the wars of expansion in the region during 1650 -1652.

In 1650-1651, he sent his army under his Dalavoy Hamparajaiya who conquered from Adilshah, Sulekere Durga, Nayakavadi, Yalahanka and Channagiri and Basavapatna. He further acquired from the Changalva ruler, Tunga and its dependent villages Ganni. Madapura and Kattarighatta.[29] Having thus strengthened his position locally, Kantirava entered into an alliance with Siddi Rahim the Nawab of Sira.[30] A union of three powers namely Sriranga, Kantirava and Siddi Rahim of Sira came about. According to Zahur, "The Raja of Mysore came out of his territory at the instigation of Siddi Rahim and wrested all the forts in the Jagadeva country, which Mustafa Khan had taken with so much effort.[31] Between November 1652 and January 1653, Kantirava ran over Carnatic and acquired in quick succession several important forts in the territory of Jagadevaraya in the Baramahal like Ratnagiri, Virabhadradurga, Kengere Kote, Kanakagiri, Rayadurga, Melagiri, Kaveripattana, Arjun Kote, Pennagara, Denkanikote, Dharmapuri and other places from one Yatibal Rao called Balaji Hayabat Rao a representative of Adilshah in that region.[32]

Kantirava marched into the Baramahal and the combination of different rulers of the South caused a great concern to Tirumala Nayak of Madura. Tirumala Nayaka was worried that Kantirava's next step would be towards the Kingdom of Madura. The only way now left to him was to turn towards Bijapur. He appealed to Adilshah for help.[33] Opened to his army again the passage through the ghats, and urged him to declare war against the King of Mysore.[34] Proenza writes, "Tirumala Nayak, instead of co-operating in the establishment of the affairs of Narasinga, recommended

negotiations with Muhammadans and urged them to declare war against the king of Mysore.[35]

As soon as Adilshah got Tirumala's request, he sent his army for the relief of Madura. The Bijapur army soon reduced Mir Jumla to submission in 1652 and wrested the prestigious fort of Penukonda from Sriranga after inflicting on him a humiliating defeat. Mir Jumla created a panic among the confederates.

Encouraged by these successes, the Bijapur army led by Khan Muhammad Khan-I- Khanam) successor to Mustafa Khan entered the territory of Jayadevaraya and laid siege to Krishnagiri the strongest bastion of Kantirava in that region. A terrific battle was fought in which Kantirava was routed and was forced to flee for life.[36] The Bijapur army followed the victory and captured four other important forts which Kantirava had occupied in the region.[37] Sriranga's position again became very critical. He sent Mir Jumla to the Mughal court seeking, the aid of Shah-Jahan against Adilshah. Meanwhile Kantirava sent a numberless force to the frontier fort of Kaveripattanam under his Dalavoy Dasarajaiya in order to retreat his defeat at Krishnagiri. Khan Muhammad dispatched a detachment under Siddi Masaud against Dasarajaiya and himself marched on Vellore. The Bijapur army under Siddi Masaud met the army of Kantirava at Kaveripattanam in October 1653. A battle took place in which Dasarajaiaya and the Dalavoy of Mysore was slain.[38] Siddi Masaud soon recaptured all the Adilsahi forts taken by Kantirava in Jagadevaraya's territory and drove Kantirava out of

his Region. Having sent Siddi Masaund against Kantirava, Khan Muhummad besieged the fort of Vellore. Sriranga was completely defeated in April 1654. He was at last forced to conclude a treaty with Khan Muhammad according to which Vellore was taken by Adilshah and Sriranga was given Chandragiri along with its dependencies.[39] Sriranga completely lost his power in Baramahals. It was indeed an irrecoverable loss to him. Adilshah's desire to raze out completely the very name of Vijayanagara and to hoist the banner of Bijapur. Thus the year 1654 might be said to mark the nadir.

During 1653-1654 Kantirava suffered heavy losses in Carnatic. He was finally obliged to sue for peace by paying a heavy war indemnity and annual tribute to the sultan of Bijapur.[40] It was the highest watermark of the expansionist activities of Bijapur in the Carnatic. A policy of systematic converts in the South the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkanda completed the acquisition of what remained of Vijayanagara. And the treaty concluded the future war between the two powers.

In 1656, Bijapur got for its share, the whole of Baramahal and part of Mysore while Galkonda was given to the East of the Baramahal including Chittur, Chandragiri, Gooty, Gurramkonda, Kanjivaram and so on. The Bijapur possessions to the North of Mysore comprising of Bangalore, Kolar, Doddaballapur and Sira came to be called Karnataka Bijapur, Balaghat and the territory below the Ghats corresponding to the Jayadevaraya's territory

countermined with the South- eastern boundary of Mysore, came to be called Karnataka Hyderabad Balaghat.[41]

Doddadevaraj Wodeyar is an important personality in the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore. His reign witnessed the beginning of the rise of Mysore as an independent Kingdom in the South. During the period, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkanda were engaged in their struggle with Aurangazeb. The Shahi Sultans were therefore not in a position to think of any conquests in Karnataka as they had to defend their own territories from the Mughal attacks. Being freed from the hostilities of the Deccan Sultans, the Palegaras in the South tried to throw off the foreign yoke and assert their independence. In Karnataka, apart from Mysore, Ikkeri was trying to project itself under Shivappa Nayak I (1645-1660). Shivappa took full advantage of the absence of the Bijapur forces in his province and occupied Vassudhare (Vastare), Sakkarepatna and Hassan in order to strengthen his defences in the South of his Kingdom.[42] Shivappa gave asylum to Sriranga and started extending his Kingdom in the name of fugitive King. Already by 1656 Shivappa reconquered from the Sultan of Bijapur, Ikkeri, Soraba, Udagiri, Mahadevapura. Ambalegolla and other forts and drove him to Bijapur from his province.[43] Madura was ever hostile to Mysore, and Chokkanatha Nayaka its new ruler (1659-1682) followed the aggressive attitude of his predecessor Tirumala Nayaka. A few of the local Palegaras in Mysore like Narasimha Nayaka of Hole Narasipur always used to side either Ikkeri or Bijapur in order to destabilize Mysore.[44] Those were the general conditions in Karnataka when Devaraja ascended the throne in 1659.

The entire reign of Devaraja Wodeyar was mostly spent in wars. Tirumalrva seemed to make three distinct stresses in these campaigns.[45] The first ended with the defeat of the Palegar of Ikkeri and the acquisition of Hassan and Sakkarepattana and by Mysore, the second with the split of the confederacy formed by Chokkalinga Nayaka and the fall of Erode and Dharapuram and the third with the attack upon Mumadi Kempe Gowda and the termination of the latter's authority over Kunigal and Huliyurudurga in 1667.

When all his hopes of imperial restoration were shattered, Sriranga seemed to have finally left Belur in 1663 and sought shelter in the court of Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura.[46] We have a few inscriptions of Chokkanatha ranging from 1665 to 1667 which point to the presence of Sriranga in the court at Madura.[47] The absence of Sriranga in Karnataka was a signal for the king of Mysore to profess his independence. After Doddadevaraja Wodeyar gave up the usual courtesy of mentioning the king of Vijayanagara (his nominal overlord) in all his inscriptions. As a mere maha-mamadaleswara (provincial governor) under the king of Vijayanagara.[48] After the flight of Sriranga from Hassan in 1663, Devaraj adopted some high royal title like Rajadhiraja, Paramesvara. Sri Virapratapa, Birudantembara Ganda, Dharnivarha, Nanamakuta Mandalikara Ganda, Muru Manneya Ganda (Champion over three chiefs) Pararaya Bhayankara (Terror of the hostile kings) Hindu Raya Suratrana (Sultan of Hindu Kings) and so forth which were formerly the distinctive eplthets of the sovereigns of Vijayanagara.[49] It seemed apparent that by

1663, Devaraja Wodeyar of Mysore rose to the position of a ruler of an independent kingdom.

Another important event of the reign of Devaraya was the defect of Chokkanatha and his allies in 1667 and the annexation of Erode and Dharapuram to the Kingdom of Mysore. The real cause of the conflict between Mysore and Madura in 1667 was the projected expression of Mysore in the South.[50] On the fall of Hassan and Sakkarepatna in 1663, Sriranga left Belur and went to Madura. He seemed to have sought the assistance of Chokkanatha Nayaka, the chief of Madura and made another effort to regain his authority and to neutralize the power of Mysore. Chokkanatha also could not tolerate the expansionist activities of Mysore in the principality of Madura during Kantirava Narasaraja's rule. Chokkanatha wanted to make the best use of the fugitive Sriranga III in his court. The presence of Sriranga in his court gave to Chokkanatha much moral and material support to oppose Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. He joined Sriranga with whose help he mediated the conquest of entire Mysore.[51] In the scheme of conquest, Chokkanatha enlisted the support of the Maratha chiefs in the Carnatic namely Vedoji and Anantoji, the best representatives at Jengi and Tanjore respectively, a union of chiefs hostile to Mysore was brought about when Damarla Aiyappa Nayaka a local Jagirdar also joined this confederacy.[52] The confederate forces took up the cause of Sriranga, to restore him back to his power. The main obstacle in Sriranga's attempt to recover his power was Mysore. The fall of Vijayanagara was a gain to Mysore. Mysore started became stronger and stronger correspondingly as

the kingdom of Sriranga declined and the rising power of Mysore was an eye sore to Sriranga. The kingdom was crumbling before his own eyes and he wanted somehow to regain lost power and restore the former glory of the empire of Vijayanagara.

The confederate powers championed the cause. The confederate army consisting of one lakh of infantry, one hundred elephants and many horses marched forth and laid siege at the fort to Erode in the south east of Mysore.

The allied army was led by Tupakada Linganna Nayaka the commander of the army of Chokkanatha, on hearing about the formation of the confederacy and the march of the confederate army towards Erode. Doddadevaraja sent his army under the command of his nephew Chikkadevaraja.

The march of the Mysore army created a sense of panic in the mind of Chokkanatha. For there was no unity among the members of confederacy though the members of the confederacy exposed the cause of Sriranga, they joined the confederacy only to check the power of Devaraja Wodeyar and to wreak vengeance against him. Most of those members were really interested in the cause of Sriranga. Secondly, the Maratha Sardars at Tanjore and Jingi joined Chokkanatha purely on their own accord and there action did not have the approval of the policy makers at Poona. It was their will against the Raja of Mysore that dictated them to respond favourably to Chokkanatha when the latter appealed to them to join the

confederacy. And therefore the confederacy was a loosely -knit organization. It had no well-defined programme/s and policies. Beside the confederate army was only large in number. It was not a well-disciplined army but consisted of mere rabbles, these factors convinced Chokkanatha that the confederate forces could not face the Mysore army which had the distinction of having won several battles during the reign of Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar and also during the reign of Devaraja Wodeyar.

Chokkanatha was unnerved. He became apprehensive of the impending danger and secretly retired to Tirichinapally leaving his allies to their fate.[53] Sriranga also followed him soon. The flight of Chokkanatha and Sriranga created much confusion among the confederate powers. The confederacy was thus hopelessly divided. Meanwhile, the Mysore army arrived for the relief of Erode. In a sanguinary fight, Aiyapa Nayaka was slain and Anantoji was put to flight. The confederate army was completely defeated.[54] The Mysore army made the permanent conquest of Erode, Dharapuram, and Vamalur and marched as far as Tirichinapally where it compelled Chokkanatha to submit to Mysore.[55]

The defeat of the confederate forces at Erode was a great accomplishment of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar because the war completely foiled the attempts of Sriranga to reduce the importance of Mysore. This was the last trial of strength between Doddadevaraja Wodeyar and Sriranga. Sriranga lost the ground and the defeat of the allied forces at

Madura proved the strength of Mysore which emerged as a strong power in Karnataka.

During the reign of Devaraja Wodeyar Chokkanatha Nayaka (1659-1682) grandson of Tirumala Nayaka succeeded to the kingdom of Madura. Troubles were still brewing in Tamil Nadu, frontier conquest. The war between Mysore and Madura during the last years of the reigns of Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar and Tirumala Nayaka. Dalavoy Hamparajaiya who lost it, had to take part in that disastrous enterprise, and he continued to hold office earlier in the reign of Devaraja, when he was called upon to face a new situation.

By 1673, the last year of Devaraja Wodeyar's reign in the kingdom of Mysore, powerful and practically independent had been extended as far as Hassan and Sakkarepatna in the West Salem in the East Chiknayakanahalli, in the North and Erode and Dharapuram in the South.[56]

The victory of Mysore over the Southern confederacy at Erode (headed by Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura) in June 1667 was the rapid dissolution of the empire itself. It contributed a little to enhance the reputation and prestige of Devaraja Wodeyar as a ruler of Mysore. He was assisted by the able Dalavoys like Nanjanathaiya and Kumaraiya of Kalale in the work of political expansion and he was on the whole able to extend and maintain the independence and integrity of the kingdom of Mysore in the West North and the South, with a tendency to advance further

southwards in the direction of Tirichinapally and Madura and leave a rich legacy to his nephew and successor Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.

From the above study, we may draw a few general conclusions. First in the history of political relations between Mysore and Tamil Nadu, the period from 1610 to 1673 was a landmark. During this period Raja Wodeyar I, the Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I, and Devaraja Wodeyar figured prominently in the political relationship. The decline of Vijayanagara after 1565 provided an opportunity for the rulers to expand the kingdom of Mysore towards Tamil Nadu. The Southern expansion was natural because in the North and West, Mysore had to face formidable enemies. Bijapur and the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara in the North and Nayaks of Keladi in the West prevented the expansion in that direction.

Secondly Madura was the focal point of relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu during 1619-1673. The Nayaka's of Madura like Muttuverappa Nayaka I, Tirumala Nayaka and Chokkanatha Nayak played a very important role. Muttuverappa Nayaka I had relations with Mysore under Chamaraja VI in 1619. Tirumala Nayaka of Madura (1623-1659) was a contemporary of Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I. He incited and supported the chiefs of Samballi against Mysore between 1641-1642. He proved disloyal to Sriranga VI the Aravidu ruler of Vijayanagara kingdom. Tirumala Nayaka followed the anti-imperial policy with special reference to Mysore. Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura (1659-1682) was a contemporary of Devaraja Wodeyar of Mysore. He followed the hostile relations with

Mysore up to 1667. Chokkantha Nayaka took a leading part in the siege of Erode in 1667. In 1668 Chokkanatha Nayaka submitted to Mysore.

Thirdly, Erode was another focal point in the political relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu. During that period in June 1667, Dalavoy Kumaraiya took possession of Erode. Erode became the base of operations for further penetration of Mysore into Tamil Nadu. For example, in November 1667 Dharapuram was taken by Dalavoy Kumaraiya. Likewise, he took in February 1668, Vamulur, Kamalur, and Samballipura from Ghatta-Mudaliar. It was a very important development in the history of political relations between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.

Fourthly, one of the important developments in the history of political relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu is the march of Mysore army up to Tirichinapally under Dalavoy Kumaraiya. Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura was forced to submit to Mysore army. Dalavoy Kumaraiya of Kalale collected horses, cash and costly Jewels from Chokkanatha. Inscriptions found in Salem and Coimbatore districts recorded those political achievements at Mysore. Dalavoy Kumaraiya of Kalale in a way laid the foundation for Kalale Nanjarajaiah's policy towards Trichinapally in the 18th century. Lastly, the period form 1610 to 1673 was a formative period in the political relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu. The period laid the foundation for further expansionist programme of Mysore. Madura, Erode, Dharapuram, Vamalur were the focal points. We may now turn our attention to the study of political relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the next chapter.

Notes and References

1. *C. VAM.*31 *Mys. Dho.pur* I 78: See also and compare *Mys. Raj.Cha.* pp. 19-20.
2. Extant villages in the T.Narasipur and Yelandur taluks (see list of villages 90 for vatalu).
3. *Mys. Dho. Pur. I*, pp. 76-77.
4. *Tayur, Tagadur, Hedatale, Hemmaragala, Nilusoge* etc. (sec. C. VI. II p. 29).
5. *Mys. Dho. Pur. I*, pp. 77-78.
6. *C.Vam.1* pp.33-34, *Annals I*, pp. 57-58, *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, pp. 21; *Annals I*, pp. 52-53.
7. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff.24. *Annals I*, 59. *C.Vam.*, 33, Ghatta-Mudaliar is colloquially spelt as Ghati-Mudaliar in the Chronicles.
8. *Annals I C*, pp. 54-58.
9. See. *E.C.* IX Bn. 118 (1705) 1.6: *Mys. Hist. Suppl.*, Vol. Nj. 295 (1716)V. p.58.
10. Vide references under Gifts, Grants and Literary progress.
11. *Ibid.*, IV(2) Y.D. 5,1.5.
12. *Ibid.*, 1.6 here read dakshina for dakshana.
13. See *Mys. Gaz.*, II, III 2384 noticing this document.
14. See *K.N.V.*, XX, XXV: See also under social life Mahanavami festival in ch IX.
15. *C.Vam.*, p.190.

16. *K.N.V.* (1648) VI, 3-74, 91, 93, 198; VII, 1-9 compare the general topography of Vijayanagara as given by Domingo Paes(1520), Sewel., *A forgotten empire,* pp. 284-289.
17. *Mys. Dho. Pur II.,* 11-13; *Annals I,* 68-69 also *C.Vam* and *C. Vim* sited in f. n 60 supra of Wilks list of conquests (I 64-67) based on the *Mys. Dho. Pur.*
18. *E.C.,* III (1) I NJ. 198 11. 25-29.
19. *Ibid.,* II 85-87 Sriman -maha-mandalesa narasakshiti-chandraman Vijnapya suamine vira venkata shmabhoje tatah.
20. *Ibid.,* IV (2) Gu 10 11. 2-5, 8.
21. *Kantirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XVII 9-15, pp. 36-40.
22. *Ibid.,* Vs 9-40, *Mys. Dho. Vam.,* p.39, *Mys. Dho. Pur.* 11, p. 11.
23. Satyanatha Iyer, *Nayaks of Madura,* p. 265.
24. Venkataramanaiya, *Mysuru Rajacharitre,* p.24.
25. Nilkantha Sastri K.A., *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History,* Vol. II, p. 243.
26. Muddachar, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 42.
27. Nilkantha Sastri K.A., *Further sources of Vijayanagara History,* Vol. I, p. 362.
28. The foundation of the Mahratta power in the South and Shahji's contribution to the establishment of Maratha Empire. Baroda. 1942.
29. *Annals I,* p. 70.
30. *Muhammad Namah in the Modern Review,* 1929, p. 502.
31. Ibid.

32. *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali, Mys. Dho. Pur.*, ii, 18, Kudzan pp. 204, 205. *Annals I,* p. 70, *Muhammad Namah* (Shiv. Niv). Pp. 112-117, Wilks, *Hist.* I, p. 64, H.V.Rao, *Hist. I*, p. 147.
33. Proenza La Mission Du Mudure in the *Hist. of the Nayaks of Madura,* p. 267.
34. *Ibid., H.N.M.,* pp. 47-48.
35. *Ibid.,* p. 267.
36. *M.N* (Shivnib) p. 133. Varma, *Hist. of Bijapur,* p. 147, H.V. Rao, *Hist.*, pp. 147- 148, Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p.43.
37. *Ibid.,* Muddachari, op cit.
38. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 43, H. V. Rao, *History of Mysore,* Vol. I, p.148.
39. Muhammad Namah in *M.A.R.* 1929. P. 502, *C. Vam.,* p.190 Hauge Transcripts referred to by (William) Foster in the English Factories in India - 1651-1654 intr. P. XXXIII ; Rawlinson and Patvardhan, The source book of Marata History pp. 12-13.
40. H. V. Rao, *Hist.,* pp.149-150.
41. Orme, *Historical Fragments,* p. 62.
42. *Ke. N.V.,* VII pp. 108-109.
43. *Ibid.,* VII p. 110.
44. *Annals I.,* p. 98.
45. *C.VI.*, V, pp. 102-116.
46. *Mys. Gaz.,* II, III, 2352-2353, 2366-2367.
47. Sewell. List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency p. 562.

48. *E.C.,* III NJ 335 and 328.

49. *E.C.,* VI, Sr. 23 : V. Tn 218 and so on.

50. *C.VI.,* V.P. 106; V 33 : *EC* : V Tn 218 : IV Ko 52 : H. V. Rao, *Hist.,* I p. 262.

51. Wilks, *Hist.*, I, p. 69.

52. *C. VI.,* VP 107, V. 35.

53. *Ibid.,* V pp. 113. 114 Vs 81-82.

54. *Ibid.,* 81-82 and 89, pp. 115-116 Vs 95-96, *E.C.,* VI Sr. 24. III, pp. 36-39, Wilks, *Hist.,* I, pp. 69-70, *HNM*, p. 26 and 172, *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, II, p. 28.

55. Annanls I, *op. cit., C.VI.,* V.P. 116 Vs pp. 95-96.

56. See. *E.C.*, iii (1) Sr 14 (1686) II 40-43 which enables us to determine the precise limits of the Kingdom of Mysore in 1673.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL RELATIONS OF CHIKKADEVARAJA WODEYAR WITH TAMIL NADU (1673-1704)

In the last Chapter, we examined the political relationship of Mysore with Tamil Nadu up to 1673. During the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar broadly the trends of the previous period continued. A few political changes outside Mysore emerged during that period. The Mughals, the Marathas, the Nayaks of Keladi and the local rulers of Tamil Nadu confronted Mysore under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was the greatest ruler of the Wodeyar dynasty. It was he who established a systematic administrative structure in Mysore. He also introduced some social reforms and patronised Tamil Srivaishnavisam.

From the point of view of war, peace and diplomacy, the period from 1673-1704 was highly significant. It was not easy for Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to preserve political peace and stability in Mysore. Mysore had to face constant danger from the Marathas in the North the Nayaks of Keladi in the West, the Nayaks of Madura and other Tamil chiefs in the South and the East of Mysore. Even then the political expansion of Mysore was remarkable. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar followed pro-Mughal, anti-Marathas and anti-Keladdi policy. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar exploited the political rivalry and conflict between the Mughals and the Marathas. He was friendly to Aurangzeb, the greatest Mughal ruler of India. Aurangzeb also reciprocated his friendship. At the same time, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar

expanded his political power towards Tamil Nadu in the South and East of Mysore. His relationship with Tamil Nadu might be described briefly.

Born on September 22, 1645,[1] Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was[2] brought up in Mysore by this father Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, till the latter's renunciation and departure for the banks of the Kaundini (by 1659). Chikkkadevaraja, has had been depicted by his friend and co-student Tirumalarya,[3] displayed traces of a promising person, being educated and trained on sound lines and acquiring proficiency in the principles of drama, rhetoric, poetry and linguistics, in dialectics, puranas, dharmasastras and politics, in music (including the flute) gymnastics, archery and swordsmanship, and in horse - riding and elephant riding and various other manly exercises, as indicated in the preceding chapter, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, during the reign of his uncle Devaraja Wodeyar, stayed, in the capital city of Sringapatanm as crown-prince (yuvaraja) till 1667. In February 1662, he was married to Devajamma, daughter of Lingarajaiya of Yelandur, and Devamma, Daughter of (Dalavoys) Kumaraiya of Kalale. As crown-prince he exhibited rare courage and military spirit, during the deliberations at Sringapatnam and on the occasion of the siege of Erode (1667).[4] And he adorned, also, the court of Devaraja, taking an active interest in the study and appreciation of various subjects, sacred and secular,[5] from about 1667 onwards, however, Chikkadevaraja, as a young man of twenty-two, appears to have shown a tendency towards independence in administration. The coronation took place on February 28,1673.

The accession of Chikkadevaraja to the throne marks a turning-point in the history of South India, the Empire of Vijayanagara, which had continued to hold its own against adverse forces for well high a century after the battle of Raksa-Tangadi (1565), was rapidly losing its hold on the country under the nominal, but attenuated, sway of Sriranaga VI during the latter part of his life. The Shahi kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda were drawn into a struggle with Aurangzeb in the Deccan, while the power of Bijapur in the Karnataka-Balaghat had been definitely on the wane since the death of Shahji in 1664. Shahji had been succeeded in the Karnatak possessions of Bijapur by his son Ekoji (Venkoji), and the latter was staying in Banagalore, the seat of his father's Jahgir, exercising the powers of a Bijapur general. The Maratha power in the Deccan under Shivaji was steadily asserting itself against the Mughals on the one hand and the Shahi Kingdoms on the other. In Ikkeri, in the North-west (of Mysore), Hiriya-Somasekara Nayaka having died a victim to court intrigue, had been succeeded by his queen-dowager, Channammaji, in February 1672; and the latter was governing the kingdom with the assistance of Bassappa Nayaka afterwards Hiriya-Basappa Nayaka I adopted, and appointed heir-designate, by herein-July 1672. Madura, in the far South, under Chokkanatha-Nayaka (1659-1682), was on the point of drifting into war with Tanjore on the one side and Mysore on the other, as feudal powers an off shoots of Vijayanagara, both Ikkeri and Madura were practically independent. Indeed, to them Mysore, which had likewise emerged under similar circumstances but was a powerful and claimed imperial status as the

political heir of Vijayanagara in the Karnataka, had become a source of alarm, already towards the close of Devaraja's reign, the result was that, when Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. The situation assumed a serious aspect when, about the time of Chikkadevaraja's accession, Chokkanatha Nayaka (Chokkalinga) of Madura evinced an attitude of hostility towards Mysore (*durhrda-bhavambettiral*)[6] on March 5, 1673, i.e., on the fifth day after his installation (*patava-daidaneya-dinadol*), Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar proceeded on an expedition towards the East,[7] taking in rapid succession the fort of Dhuligote, malai, muttanjatti, Paramatti and Salem (Salya).[8] Marching further, Chikkadevaraja encountered Chokkanatha himself at the head of his forces (consisting, we are told,[9] of eight thousand horse, a lakh of foot and a hundred elephants) commanded by his Dalavoys Venkatakrishna Nayaka and lying in wait at Madhuvana on the borders of the forest region of Sadamangalam.[10] In the action that took place, Chokkanatha was repulsed and hotly pursued; his forces were severely crushed. And several elephants, horses and valuables in his camp plundered and captured by the Mysore army.[11] It was followed by Chikkadevaraja's expedition to Sadamangalam whose chief, Ramachandra Nayaka, readily submitted to him and was promised protection; the fort of Anantagiri was next taken, and the hostile chiefs of Ariyalur, Toreyur and Dharapuram. And Kongu Nadu was successively reduced and forced to pay tribute.[12] After having securely established himself in the East in the places commanding the South, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar returned to the capital about the close of 1673.

To Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, Maratha affairs in Southern India, since Shivaji's departure in November 1677, had become a source of great concern. Especially, as regards the territorial integrity of the frontiers of Mysore in the South-east and the North and his own advance in those directions. Already there were signs of the beginnings of a contest for the mastery of the South between Mysore and the Marathas, Madura was a contributory factor in the situation. In January 1678, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, probably taking advantage of the state of affairs in Madura proceeded to the East and laid siege to and took possession (From Ghatta-Mudaliar) of the forts of Andur and Kuntur, situated on the frontiers guarding the dominions of Madura.[13] Then he marched on to Erode, pursuing and capturing its chief Akka Reddi, but subsequently, pardoning him and accepting his submission.[14] Referring, perhaps, to this movement of Chikkadevaraja, the Jesuit letter of 1678[15] speaks of him as having entered the dominions of the Nayak of Madura "Without striking a blow" and taken "possession of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then in the North", again, in a letter to fort St. George.[16] Chokkanatha himself states that "his brother not understanding how to govern the kingdom, did act in such a manner that the naive of misure (Mysore) took Madura, etc., places from us and gave Vallam castle to Ekoji."

In June 1688, Chikkaya, agent (Gurikar) of Chikkadevaraja at Sankhagiri, took possession of Avanipur, Arasaravani and Hoskote. This was followed by Chikkadevaraja's acquisition of Manugonde-Durga, Mannargudi and Vamalur in November, and of Dharmapuri in January 1689.

In May, Paramatti was retaken after a bombardment; in July, Gurikar Lingarajaiya, another agent of Chikkadevaraja of Coimbatore, took Kaveripattanam; in September, Kuntur-Durga (Kunnattur) was re-acquired and, finally, in January 1690, Anantagiri under an agreement (Kaulu) concluded by Haraji. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar completed the chain of his conquests in the Eastern part of Mysore by the reacquisitions of Salem, Sadamangalam, Paramatti, Namakaland Tammaimbatti.[17]

Owing to the presence of Mughal arms in the Karnataka during the period (1691-1698), he had wisely refrained from continuing to push the direction of Madura and Tirichinapally, although he never seemed to have ceased actively reiterating his claim to sovereignty over it (Tenkana-Raya).[18] Within the limits of the Karnataka country, however, he had become well-established, and he was, we learn,[19] looked upon with awe by the contemporary powers of Tanjore, Madura, Ginjee and Sira. He seemed to have succeeded also in enforcing his claim to supremacy as the sovereign of the Karnataka (*karnataka-bhumandolodhisa*).[20] Indeed contemporary texts, testify to his right to enjoy the undivided sovereignty of the empire (*akhanda-dharani-mandaladipati*) as an unparalleled monarch.[21] In fine, at a time when Aurangazeb in the North was being continually harassed in his struggle with the Marathas, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, alone among the South Indian powers, was at the zenith of his power in Mysore - apparently a factor of considerable alarm to the Mughal.

The years 1700-1704 were, on the whole, years of peaceful and settled government in Mysore under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in 1704, the last year of his reign, the political position of the kingdom of Mysore. With reference to Tamil Nadu, in the East and the South, up to and inclusive of part of Salem-Baramahal and Coimbatore districts, with a distinct tendency to advance further in the direction of Tirichinapally in the far south, entered the Coleroon sooner, had not the king of maissoor (Mysore) stopped their course by a prodigious mole he raised and which extended the whole breath of the canal. The design was to turn off the waters by the bank in order that those following into the canals dug by him might refresh his dominions, but while he thus resolved to make his own lands fruitful and thereby increase his revenues, he was going to ruin the two neighboring kingdoms, those of Madura and Tanjoor (Tanjore). The water would not have risen before the end of July, and the canal would have been dry by the middle of September. The two princes, zealous for the welfare of their respective kingdoms, were exasperated at this attempt; upon which they united against the common enemy in order to oblige him, by force of arms, to destroy a mole which did them such vast prejudice. They were making great preparations for that purpose when the river Coleroon revenged (as was the phrase here) at front which had been put upon its waters, by capturing them in the manner the prince in question had done during the time the rains descended but moderately on the mountains, the mole stood and the waters flowed gently into the canals dug for that purpose; but the instant they fell abundantly, the river swelled to such a degree that it broke

the mole and dragged it along. In this manner, the prince of maissor (Mysore), after putting himself to a great expense, was frustrated, in an instant, of the immense riches which he had hoped to gain". Although the scheme of an embankment on the Cauvery, thus originated by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the very beginning of the eighteenth century, proved to be a failure owing to freaks of nature, the document we have quoted from amply testify to the brilliancy of his constructive effort in a department - of public works. The defeat of the confederate force at Erode by Devaraja Wodeyar in 1667 had dealt a strong blow to Vijayanagara and removed Sriranga from the South Indian Political scene. The Nayak rule had come to a close at Tanjore where Ekoji held established his own rule. Madura was too weak to maintain itself and was struggling to preserve its integrity against the odds of the time.

Early in his reign, Chikkadevaraj was engaged in a bloody encounter with the Nayak of Madura and the Palegar of Ikkeri. During the whole of his reign, there was a great contest for supremacy over Karanataka between Madura and Mysore and Mysore and Ikkeri. Mallikarjuna, the court poet of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, tells us that Chokkanatha developed an attitude of hostility towards Mysore and made preparations for war. Madura and Ikkeri were very anxious to maintain the balance of power in Karantaka and they never liked Mysore becoming more powerful. Chokkanatha, the ruler of Madura, had not forgotten the humiliation suffered by him in the battlefield at Erode in 1667 during the reign of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. Since then he was waiting for on opportunity to avenge the injury. Taking advantage of the

death of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. Chokkanatha reorganized his army and planned an invasion of Mysore. According to Tirumalarya Madura and Ikkeri together made an attempt to pull down Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar of Mysore.[22] While Madura raised a rebellion in the South, Ikkeri invaded Mysore from the North-Chokkanatha sent his army under his commander Venkata Krishana Nayaka who bore the title Sangora Kirita (Crown of battle). As crown prince, Chikkadevaraja had already broken the mighty confederacy formed by Chokkanatha and Sriranga III of Vijayanagara and had humbled them at Erode in 1667. Again, he had to face the Madura army early in his reign. The Mysoreans fell on the Madura army at Maduvana and subjected the Nayak to greater humiliation, in a fierce battle that was fought at the place Chikkadeva routed the Madura army and put the Nayak to heavy losses - both men and ammunitions the Mysoreans captured on the battlefield and all belongings of the Madura army including their war horses and elephants and wrested from Chokkanatha several important forts in Madura like Paramatripura, Malai, Muttanjatti, Shalya (Salem), Sadamangalam, Anantagiri, Torenad, Ariyalur, Dharapuram and soon and returned to Mysore with much booty.[23]

Mysore-Madura Relations

Ever since Ekoji Shifted his capital to Tanjore, he had initiated a policy of expansion in the South. He had concentrated his attention on Madura. His object was to secure some military bases in the Madura region in order to check the advance of Mysore in that direction. Early in his reign, Chikkadevaraja had defeated Chokkanatha and had acquired much territory

in the Southern passes heading to Madura from Mysore. Chikkadevaraja's success in Madura kingdom in 1673 was a source of great anxiety to Ekoji. Ekoji never wanted Mysore to have territorial acquisitions in Madura and wanted to expel Mysore from all its possessions in the region. Ekoji wanted to keep Mysore as far as possible away from the Maratha zone of influence in the South. Andre Freiere writes "Mysore cannot see without uneasiness a bold set of people establishing themselves on her own frontiers, fortifies the citadels taken from the Northern provinces of Madura, gathers fresh troops and makes grand preparation for war".[24] Shortly after Shivaji withdrew his steps from Karnataka, Chikkadevaraja sent his army to the kingdom of Madura. In January 1678 the Mysore army defeated Ghatta Mudaliyar, a feudatory of Chokkantha of Madura and wrested from him the few important forts of Andur and Kuntur situated on the northern border of Madura.[25] Then he turned towards the east and occupied Erode putting to flight its chief Akka Reddi. The reduction of those forts dealt a great[26] blow to the power of Chokkantha in his own kingdom. According to Andre Freiere "The king of Mysore entered them without striking a blow and took possession of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then in the North".[27]

Mysore-Maratha Relations

(a) Maratha Debacle at Mandya : In the Meanwhile, in Maharastra Shivaji died in 1680 and was succeeded by his son Sambhaji to the Maratha throne and to the Maratha Possessions in Karnataka. Sambhaji was the born enemy of Mysore. And in pursuit of this traditional hostility, he appointed a general like Jaitaji, Nimbaji and soon to deal with Chikkadevaraja and rose

in revolt in the Northwestern part of Mysore and occupied Kadur, Banavara, Hassan and Belur,[28] while Ikkeri was threatening Mysore from the Northwest.

The army of the Marathas led by Haraji, Dadaji and Jaitaji started attacking Chikkadevaraja's possessions in the South of Mysore and invaded the fort of Dharmapuri which belonged to Mysore.[29] The Mysore army repulsed the Marathas after a long fight which lasted for eight months in December 1681 and chased them unto Samyaminipattanam in South Dharmapuri.[30]

Another factor that contributed for the disturbances in Karnataka during the period and embittered the Mysore - Maratha relations was the Tirichinapally question. In order to check the Maratha expansion in the Carnatic after Ekoji established his capital at Tanjore, Mysore wanted to set up a military base at Tirichinapally. Both Haraji the Chief of Jinji and Sambhaji realized the danger of the designs of Mysore and made great efforts to check its activities in the South. Tirichinapally belonged to Madura and Mysore wanted to acquire the same in order to check the Maratha explosion in the South, but the Marathas wanted to repulse Mysore "Whose Proximity they feared".[31] The incompetent rule of Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura offered an alluring temptation of Mysore at the beginning. Since 1678, the power of Chokkanatha was declining at Madura. The commander Rustum Khan had usurped all the authorities of the Nayaka and had started ruling like an independent Prince. He kept the ruling family in complete

surveillance. Chokkanatha became very unhappy at this awkward situation. He appealed to Mysore and the Marathas for help. This request offered a good chance to Mysore to push its conquests further into the Madura region. Chikkadevaraja readily conceded to the request and sent his army under his Dalavoys Kumaraiya ostensible for the relief of Chokkanatha but readily to reduce Tirichinaplally.[32] The Mysore Palace records state that Chikkadevaraja sent his army to Madura territory for the collection of the tribute which was in arrears since 1667.[33] It might be partly correct. After his defeat by Doddadevaraja at Erode in 1667, Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura had terminated the hostilities by agreeing to pay annul tribute to Mysore.[34] Chokkanatha never complied with the terms of this treaty. But the real intension of Mysore, according to the company records, was to try for the reduction of Tirichinapally,[35] Kumaraiya quickly marched to Madura. He defeated Rustum Khan in a battle and freed Chokkanatha from the clutches of the latter,[36] Chokkanatha was very happy at Kumaraiya's timely help. He wrote to the Governor of Madras. "*We and the Naigue of Misure are now good friends*".[37] But Chokkanatha was unable to understand the real intention of the Raja of Mysore. It is out of his self-interest Chikkadevaraja had sent assistance to Chokkanatha not ready to save him from the tyranny of Rustum Khan. Kumaraiya greatly embarrassed Chokkanatha by demanding Tirichinapally as a price for his help. Wilks, quoting a family manuscript, tells as that Kumariya "made a vow not to appear before his Raja until he had taken Tiriĉhinapally.[38]

The demand of Kumaraiya very much irritated Chokkanatha. He ultimately turned to the Marathas for help to save himself from that predicament. The Marathas readily joined Chokkantha on the pretext of helping him against the demand of Kumaraiya, but in reality to obviate Chikkadevaraja's Designs on Tirichinapally and the cessation of Tirichinapally to Mysore would lead to constant friction between Mysore and the Marathas. For Tirichinapally was close to Maratha settlements of Jinji of Tanjore.[39] The Marathas were therefore bent upon expelling Mysore from the Madura region somehow or other. And so, Tirichinapally became a bone of contention between Mysore and the Marathas.

Kumaraiya was unable to face this big combination of powers like the Marathas, Chokkanatha and the Maravas. He made some sly efforts individually with some of the allies in order to break the confederacy. He first tried with Chokkanatha offering him peace "promising to preserve the kingdom for him and re-establishing the successors of the ancient Nayaks of Tanjore and Jinji.[40] But Chokkanatha did not yield. Having failed to entice Chokkanatha, Kumarajiya turned to Haraji and tried to "corrupt his fidelity" by offering him large sums of money. By this Kumaraiya only wanted to gain time to get additional help from Mysore which he had applied for. But his letters "fell into the hands of his rivals who kept away those dispatches to ruin the general." The Marathas now came to know the intentions of Kumaraiya. Haraji therefore decided to take suitable steps to deal with the general. He took advantage of the absence of the major part of the Mysore army from Srirangapattana and of the serious predicament of Kumaraiya at

Tirichinapally. He sent a strong Maratha force under his generals Dadaji Kakade, Jaitaji and Nimbaji against Mysore with instructions to attack Srirangapattana. The Maratha army soon entered the interior of Mysore and encamped near the village Kottatti and Honnalagere near Mandya and thus threatened the security of Srirangapattana, Chikkadevaraja's capital.

Chikkadevaraja's position now became critical because the major portion of his army was at Tirichinapally. He soon sent a word to Dalavoys Kumaraiya asking him to send the major part of the army for the protection of the capital.[41] Accordingly, Kumaraiya sent a strong force under his nephew general Doddaiya. The Mysore army rapidly marched through the Kaveripuram passes and arrived near the place where the Marathas had encamped. The Palace records give us a graphic account of the battle that ensued and the stratagem played by the Mysore army on the occasion. Doddaiya made a surprise night attack on the Marathas. The Mysore general carefully fastened lighted torches to the horns of three under transport oxen under him and drove the animals from different directions on the Maratha camp. The Marathas were taken by surprise and were very much confused by the sudden rush of the army. The Mysore army followed the oxen and fell on the Maratha camp. There ensued one of the most sanguinary battles in which the Maratha army was simply butchered and plundered. Dadaji, Jaitaji and Nimbaji were captured alive and slain on the battlefield.[42] Their heads were cut off and hung on one of the gateways of Srirangapattana.[43]

The victory of Chikkadevaraja foiled the Maratha design on Srirangapattana and left a profound impression on his contemporaries also. In particular, the defeat on these generals was said to have very much delighted Aurangazeb who praised Chikkadevaraja for his heroic achievement. Dalavoys Virarajiaya writes that the victory made Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar the undisputed master of Karnataka.[44] Kashipati Pandita, an eighteenth century commentator writes that by this victory over the Marathas Chikkadevaraja fully asserted his right for supremacy over Karnataka.[45]

(b) Kumaraiya's rout at Tirichinapally : The Defeat of the Maratha army at Mandya had great repercussion on Kumaraiya at Tirichinapally. The death of Dadaji and others left a deep sense of humiliation on Haraji, and Haraji decided to retaliate. Kumaraiya's position at Tirichinapally was very precarious, "Receiving neither reinforcements nor reply to his letters, Kumaraiya was obliged to seek safety in an honourable retreat. He was therefore waiting for a chance to flee towards Mysore with all his men unnoticed by the enemy but, the Marathas would not allow themselves to be put on the wrong scent: for a long time past their self-conceit and audacity had been increasing by the inaction of Kumaraiya which revealed to them his weakness and their strength; they kept close to his army and none of his actions could escape them.[46] Taking advantage of Kumaraiya's weakness without adequate soldiers under him, the Marathas suddenly fell on the Mysore army at Tirichinapally and inflicted a severe loss. A large number of military officers on Mysore side were captured including Kumaraiya himself.

The defeat and capture of this general till then invincible completed the joy and pride of Arasumalai (Haraji)," he followed this glorious victory" and started driving away the Mysoreans from all their citadels which they had taken from the Nayaka of Madura.[47]

(C) Sambhaji's Defeat of Banavara : The Marathas, however, were not satisfied with their victory at Tirichinapally. The merciless slaughter of Dadaji and Nimbaji at Mandya did not quench Sambhaji's thirst for revenge. He wanted to take more retaliatory steps to retrieve the Maratha loss. Besides, though Haraji had expelled the Mysoreans from all their possessions in Madura, the Mysoreans retained most of their acquisitions in the region with the help of the Maravas. "The latter (Mysoreans) still possessed some fortresses, among others that of Madura with the help of the Maravas."[48]

Sambhaji was built upon reducing Mysore and bringing the whole of South under his control.[49] The conditions compelled Sambhaji to send another expedition to Mysore in 1682. "Among the many campaigns in the stormy reigns of Sambhaji, his campaign against Mysore might be assigned the pride of place".[50] The Maratha's defeat near Mandya must have convinced Sambhaji of the futility of attacking Mysore single-handed. Therefore Sambhaji entered into an alliance with Bassappanayaka of Ikkeri and Qutb Shah of Golkanda.[51] "He (Sambhaji) was helped by the king of Canara and by the king of Golkanda against the king of Mysore who was regarded as the common enemy."[52]

Decline of Maratha Power in the Carnatic : (Tamil Nadu)

With the passing away of Bangalore, the Marathas lost much of their power in Karnataka. In addition to this, there were certain other factors which hastened the decline of the Maratha's power in Karnataka and paved the way to the rise of Mysore. On the subjugation of Golkanda in 1687, Aurangazeb turned to crush the Marathas in the South. He first wanted to attack Sambhaji in his capital. In Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat, he wrested Sira from the Marathas and appointed Khasim khan as the Faujdar of that place. Auragzeb's main object in occupying Sira was possibly to isolate the Maratha Leaders in the Carantic; Sira acted as a gateway between Maharashtra and many other places in the Carnatic where the Maratha influence predominated. With the occupation of that place by Khasim Khan, the high way was closed to the Marathas. Haraji at Jinji and Ekoji at Tanjore were separated from Maharastra. They could now expect no help from Maharashtra. Having separated the Maratha leaders in the Carnatic from their mainland, Aurangzeb directed his operation in Maharashtra. The activities of Aurangazeb gave Chikkadevaraja an opportunity to deal with Haraji and others in the Carnatic, because, Sambhaji was too busy in defending his kingdom against the Mughals. He was not in a position to send any help to Haraji at Jinji, Besides, Khasimkhan's presence at Sira prevented Sambhaji from sending any assistance to Haraji even if he desired to do so. Chikkadevaraja got a good opportunity to attack the Marathas in the Carnatic. Aurangazeb had taken an oath not to return to Delhi until Sambhaji was eliminated.[53]

While Aurangazeb attacked Sambhaji in the North, Khasim Khan simultaneously took offensive in the Carnatic. He marched with his army and laid siege to Jinji. Haraji was busy in defending Jinji. Chikkadevaraja grasped the situation and entered the Carnatic. It was a good opportunity to shake the Maratha power in the Carnatic and also to drive them from all their possessions in Mysore. Accordingly, Chikkadevaraja sent his army under his agent (Gurikara) Chikkaiya of Shankagir who, in June 1688 annexed Hosakote (Bangalore distict) and its dependencies Avanipur and Arashravani.[54] Again in the month of November of the same year, he occupied Maugonde Durga, Mannargudi, Vamalur and in January 1689 he wrested the power of the Marathas in the Carnatic.

It was exactly of that time, Aurangazeb captured Sambhaji who was executed in March 1689. The incident had great ulterior reprehensions on Maratha fortunes in the Carnatic, for in his death, Chikkadevaraja's greatest adversary in Karnataka was removed. Chikkadevaraja continued his aggressions in the Carnatic with greater vigour. The Mysore army besieged Paramatti. The fort was taken in May 1689. Between July and September 1689 Lingarajaiya, another agent of Chikkadevaraja at Coimbatore, occupied Kaveripattanam and Kunatur.[55] Marching further, Chikkadevaraja annexed Kengeri, Bevuhalli and Bairanetta from the Marathas.[56]

By 1690 Chikkadevaraja could improve greatly his position in the Carnatic. Haraji was unable to face the aggressions. He had neither men nor resources to face the situation. He therefore concluded peace with

Chikkadevaraja in January 1690. He ceded Anantagiri to Mysore and terminated the hostilities.[57] Haraji did not survive long after the disaster. He died shortly after the war. In his death Mysore lost another of its rival. With those reverses in the Carnatic and the death of Haraji, the power of the Marathas began to grow weaker and weaker in the Carnatic. On the other hand, these factors made, Mysore more and more powerful. In 1691 Khasim Khan occupied Doddaballapur and drove the Marathas out of the important settlement. Doddaballapur was one of the remaining bastions of the Marathas in Mysore region. The loss of the fort meant another blow to the already dwindling Maratha power in Mysore.

From the above study of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's political relations with Tamil Nadu, we may draw a few general conclusions.

First, it is significant to note that the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar witnessed a bitter contest for overlordship in Tamil Nadu between Mysore and Marathas. The contest had some serious implications on Mysore. Mysore claimed the tradition of Vijayanagara rulers. But the rise of the Marathas in the Deccan during the period was a challenge to the Mysore's expansion towards Tamil Nadu. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar had to face opposition from three main Maratha leaders namely Ekoji, the son of Shahji, Shivaji also son of Shaji and Sambhaji son of Shivaji.

Secondly Madura, Tanjore and Tirichanappalli emerged as the flash points in Tamil Nadu, where Mysore and Marathas contested for supremacy. Madura was still under the Nayaks, but their power had

declined to the lowest level. Tanjore had been the headquarters of the Maratha power under Ekoji and his successors. Tirichinapally was a strategic place. Mysore kept an eye on Tirichinapally in order to establish control over Tamil Nadu. Ekoji had established himself at Tanjore. Mysore and Maratha contest was not only inevitable but also bitter. Erode was the base of the Wodeyars of Mysore In Tamil Nadu.

Thirdly, in the pursuit of his political ambition Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar came into conflict .with Madura. Chokkanatha Nayaka was the ruler of Madura and it is interesting to note that on the 5th day after his installation on the throne Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar marched against Madura and captured the forts in Tamil Nadu namely Dulikoti, Malali, Muttangatti, Paramatti and Salem. They fought a war at Maduvana on the borders of the forest region of Sadamangalam. Chikkadevaraja's victory was highly significant. He took other forts near Sadamangalam namely Anathagiri, Araiylur, Toreyur and Dharapuram in the Kongu Nadu. The chiefs of these places were forced to pay tribute. He returned to Srirangapattana at the end of 1673. This march on Madura and other places in Tamil Nadu was such a significant event in Mysore-Tamil Nadu relations that Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar issued the new type of coins commemorating this event.

Fourthly, between 1676-1686, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar had to face a bitter contest with the Marathas in Tamil Nadu. Bangalore was their base until it was purchased by. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Bangalore was the Jahagir of Shahji ? 1676. Ekoji was established at Tanjore. He was trying to

capture Tirichinapally the power of the Nayaka of Madura namely Chokkanatha was declining. Bijapur Sultan did not like the Marathas to establish their power in Tamil Nadu particularly at Tanjore. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar found himself insecure at the border of his kingdom. The Marathas emergence in Tamil Nadu was a source of unhappiness for Mysore in pursuing its political ambitions.

Fifthly, the power struggle between Ekogi and Santaji in Tamil Nadu led to Shivaji's expedition in 1677. Shivaji occupied Madras, Jinji, Tanjore and Vellore. He settled the problem between the Santaji and Ekoji. While he was returning from Tamil Nadu he had a conflict with Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar near Srirangapattana. It is said that he defeated Shivaji and assumed the title. *Aprthtmavira.* It shows how the Maratha's intervention in Tamil Nadu during this period created problems for Mysore.

Sixthly, Chokkanatha of Madura made an attempt to secure Tanjore by utilizing the political rivalry between the Maratha brothers namely Ekoji and Shantaji but the attempt of Chokkanatha was a failure because the Maratha brothers united against him. In other to help Chokkanatha, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar sent Dalavoy Kumaraiya to Tamil Nadu. Sambiji was the ruler at that time. The aim of Mysore was to establish supremacy in Tamil Nadu and the Tirichinapally was the key to the Southern advance of Mysore. Dalavoys Kumariya's occupation of Tirichinapally was the height of this policy but the Marathas were alarmed by the ambitions of the Mysoreans in Tamil Nadu. They attacked Srirangapattana in 1682 and

Kumaraiya had to rush to Srirangapattana to help Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to fight the Marathas. But on the way Kumaraiya was defeated by the Marathas. He was captured and later on released and returned to Srirangapattana. He retired from the office of Dalavoys. Thus Mysore lost all the bases in Tamil Nadu for the time being. The Mysore policy of Madura was not successful.

Lastly, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's policy towards Tamil Nadu was a continuation of the policy followed by the early Wodeyars up to 1673. In short Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar followed anti-Marathas, Pro-Moghul, after 1686 and anti-Keladi policies. Till 1686 Adil Shahi's of Bijapur were rivals of Mysore in the politics of Tamil Nadu. One important point to be remembered is that Tirichinapally had always remained important for the diplomatic relations of Mysore in Tamil Nadu politics. Madura and Tirichinapally continued to be targets of the political ambition of Mysore. The 18th century and its aspects may be examined in the next chapter.

Notes and References

1. *Mys. Dho, Pur.,* II, 55; Parthiva, Asvija Su, 12, Monday; see also Annals, I, 104: *C, Vam.,* 166; C,VI., IV, 51, and *Raj, Kath.,* XII, 473-474 (following the C.Vam.).
2. *C. Vam.,* 166-188; C, VI., IV, pp. 51-180.
3. See *C. Vam.,* 172-184: c,VI., IV, 93-149 C7, *Raj. Kath.,* XII - 474-475.
4. *Ante*, Ch, X.
5. *C. VI.,* V, 157-160.

6. See *Sri Mahat,* (of Malikarjuna), II, 36, See Ch, XIV.
7. *Ibid.*, Sachchu. Nir. (I, 51).
8. Sri, Mahat., 1. C, ; also Kamand, Ni., I, 81-86; Kamla Mahat, I, 123-126. Hasti, Maht.,I,74 ; Bhag. Gi Ti., I. 53; Yad Mahat., II 77, 28; Chikkadevendra-Vam., P,27; Sachchu. Nir., I, 51-52; C.bi., P,58: G-g., pp, 38, 69, see also E,C.IV (2) Ch, 92 (1675), II, 25-26, and III (i) Sr. 151 (1679), p, 119 (Text).
9. Tri, Tat., ff, 17, V, 8.
10. Sachchu, Nir., I, 52 and ff. 121; A.V.C., III . 58, 63 and 79, 88; C, bi and Gi. Go., C.C.
11. *Kamal Mahat.,* I , 127-129; *Hasti. Mahat,* I , 75; *Yad Mahat,* II. ff. 28-29; *Chikkadevendra -Vam.,* I.e., Sachchu. Nir., I, 53: C, bi 13; and Gi, Go., L.c.; see also E.C., IV (2) Ch. 92 and III (1) Sr, 151, C.C.
12. *Mys, Dho, Pur.,* 11, 33; Annals, I, 106-See also Kamala Mahat., I, 130-131; Hasti Mahat, I 77; Venkata, Mahat, I, 48-49; Sachchu, Nir., I 53 A.V.C., III, S, sce ch, XIV, etc., referring to these acquisitions cf. wilks, I, 225.
13. Kamala Mahat., I 132; Hasti. Mahat., I.C.; Bhag. Gia I, p. 53.
14. *Nayaks of Madura*, p, 284; Andre Freire to Paul oliva.
15. Letters to fort St, George (1682), P, 23; Letter dated March 8, 1682-Chokkanatha Nayaka to William Gyfford (Governor of Fort, st, George).
16. *Mys, Dho, Pur.,* II. 48; Annals I, 109, see also and compare Capt, Read in Baramahal Records (1792), I, 139. Wilk's list (I, 225-228) is

conspicuous by the absence of any reference to the reacquisitions in 1697.

17. *Mys, Raj, Cha.,* 29, there is no evidence in support of Wilk's dating to the siege of Tirichinapally by Mysore (under Chikkadevaraja), and the Maharatta attack on Seringapattam, in 1696 (I, 112-117).,These events, has been shown above, book place in 1682, see also appendix VI-(i), for a detailed examination of Wilk's position, etc.
18. See *A.V.G.,* III, 69, also IV, 18.
19. See. *Sachchu - Nir.,* FF, 120; C.bi. P, 58, and Gi, Go., pp. 38,69.
20. See *A.V.C.,* 111, 112, also, p. 2 (Prose Passage), III, 151 (atp, 103), 184, IV, 17, 23 (with gloss), etc., and C bi, 131., P, 3.
21. *A.V.C.,* III, 58, Sri Rang, Mah., P, 2, Hasti - Mah. P. 10.
22. *Ibid.,* III, 63; Gi, Go., P, 56; (Pandya Senadhipati sangara kirita venkata kirshna sibira sanlosvaharana) kamanda, Ni,, P, 4; Hasti, Mahat., p, 10; (Tatkari varivraja mukhya vastuchayamam Kondan). Yad, Mah., 3.p. 29; EC., IV, Ch, 11 (1675); Ibid., III (old edition), Sr, 151, 1670; C, bi., P, 78; Kam, Mah., P, 21.
23. La Mission Du Madure, *Op, Cit.,* p. 249.
24. *Mys. Dho. Pur.,* II, 33; Hasti. Mah. I, p.10; A.V.C., III, Vs, 8.82 (Gloss); C.bi., P,78; Gi, Go., P, 39; Annals I, p. 106.
25. *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 294; letters to Fort St, George 1682, p, 23.
26. La mission Du Madure, *op. cit.,* III, P, 272.
27. *Ke.N.V.,* pp. 134-135.

28. *A.V.C.*, III, 97; with Gloss; Sach, Nir., I, p.59.

29. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p, 92; H.V. Rao. I, pp. 293-294.

30. *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 287.

31. *Annals*, 1, p. 113.

32. *Ibid.,* p.113

33. *C.VI.,* pp. 113, 114, : Vs. 81,82,89, p. 115; V, 91, p. 116, VS, 95, 96, Supra pp. 73-75.

34. Letters to Fort St. George, 1682, P, 23; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* pp. 92, 93; H.V. Rao, *Hist,* I, p. 292, F.n, 75.

35. *Ibid.,* 1682, p. 23, Letter of 8 March, 1682.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Hayavadana Rao, *History of Mysore,* 1, pp. 114-15.

38. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 93.

39. *Nayaks of Madura,* p. 287.

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40. *Annals*, 1, pp. 114-115.

41. *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 29, C, bi., Intra. P. 17 & 19. A.V.C, I 22,23, II 19-20; III 59, 86 133; IV. 8 with Gloss. II ; Gi, Go, p, 56. these explosits of Chikkadevaraja are also found mentioned in several inscriptions of the period. Some of these epigrphs are E.V. VI., Sr, 24; ii, 11. 65-67; 69-70, Ibid., pp. 99; 11, 75-76; Ibid., V. Mys. 99, XL. 436-438 and so on.

42. *Ibid.,* P, 115.

43. Annals, I, p. 115; *M.A.R.,* 1942, pp. 90-91; Sarkar, Aurangazeb IV, p. 256; *A.V.C.,* III, V, 136.

44. *Sangita Gangadhrar*, pp. 9-10

45. La mission Du Madura, *op. cit.,* iii, pp. 304-305

46. *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 288; Jedhe Sakavali in Shivaji Souvenir , P,27

47. La mission Du Madurre, *op, cit.,* pp. 305-306.

48. Sambhaji Kalina Patra Sara sangraha, p. 59, letter No. 181.

49. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 100.

50. *A.V.C.,* III, p. 21.

51. La mission Du Madure, *op. cit.,* pp. 306-307.

52. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 201.

53. *Mys. Dho. Pur.,* II 38; Annals I, p. 107.

54. *Ibid.,* II pp. 38-52; Gi. Go., p. 39.

55. *CBI.,* p. 78, Gi Go *op. cit.*

56. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, II 42; Annals I p.108; Wilks, *Hist.,* I, pp. 226- 227. Muddachari, *Mys, Mar. Rel.,* p. 117.

CHAPTER IV

DALAVOYS' RELATIONS WITH TAMIL NADU (1704 – 1761)

In the previous two chapters we discussed political relations of Mysore with Tamil Nadu mostly in the 17th century. In the 18th century the political relations of Mysore with Tamil Nadu took not only an interesting turn, but also got more complex than in the previous century. It was a century of general political disintegration and the regrouping of political powers in the contest for supremacy in India. In the history of Mysore the 18th century was a landmark, our study is up to 1761. But the pattern of politics in Mysore that was developed up to 1761 became a model for political leaders from 1761 to 1799. The natural extension of Mysore towards Tamil Nadu in the 18th century resulted in internal turmoil, external aggression and political disappointment to the policy makers of Mysore.

The reign of Krishnaraja Wodeyar II witnessed the rise of Dalavoy and Sarvadikari in the politics of Mysore. It was because of the weak rule of Monarch, Kalale Nanjarajiah and Devarajaiah occupied supreme positions in Mysore politics, relegating Krishnaraja Wodeyar to the background. Kalale Nanjarajaiah in particular mustered all his time, energy, money and talent for taking possession of Madura and Tirichinapally. In that adventure we see the emergence of Hyder Ali, a humble foot-soldier in the beginning, rose to the power of king makers in Mysore by 1761. Without Nanjarajaiah's Trichinapally adventure, it was doubtful whether Hyder Ali would succeed Nanjarajaiah as Sarvadikari in Mysore politics. The battle of Devanahalli was

the beginning of the rising star of Hyder Ali. This historic battle was a by-product of Mysore's expansion towards Tamil Nadu. It was in that battle he came to the notice of his future political mentor namely Nanjarajaiah. It was again he participated in Tirichinapally adventure with Nanjarajiah and got the appointment as Fauzadar of Dindigal. In 1755, he amassed wealth and recruited his own private army. It became the stepping stone for his further progress and fall of Nanjarajiah. Besides 18th century was significant for disintegration of Mughal empire. The rise of the Nizam in the State of Hyderabad, the emergence of the Nawab State of Arcot, and above all the rising power of the Marathas, and the entry of commercialized companies of English and French entering into politics of Tamil Nadu. Mysore had to realize its ambition on Tamil Nadu in that complex struggle for power. In this chapter, we may describe this situation in the context of Mysore.

The political fortunes of Mysore during the early eighteenth century was very much linked with the events in Tamil Nadu. During that period Carnatic became the warring ground for the major powers in Tamil Nadu. Like the Marathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad and others, the kingdom of Madura was the focal point. The weak rule of Minakshi and the internal dissensions prevailing in that kingdom offered much temptation to the contending parties to enter and try their luck for territorial acquisition in Tamil Nadu. A civil war broke out in Madura. Minakshi was unable to control this situation. She therefore appealed to Dost Khan and Nawab of Arcot for help. The Nawab soon sent his army under Chanda Sahib for the restoration of law and order in Madura. He also had the aim to annex that province to

Arcot. On the plea of restoring order in the land Chanda Sahib captured Minakshi and usurped all her powers. Unable to bear this disgrace Minakshi took poison and died. Her death signalized the extinction of the Nayak rule in Madura. Dost khan appointed Chanda Sahib in charge of Tirichinapally and returned to Arcot. In that war, Mysore assisted Minakshi against the Nawab of Arcot in order to obviate the designs of Dost khan on Tirichinapally.[1]

The part played by Mysore in the war enraged Ali Dost khan the Nawab of Arcot. The Nawab therefore determined to punish the Raja of Mysore for his interference in the affairs of the kingdom of Madura. He was also attracted by the riches of Mysore. Ali Dost khan planned an invasion of Mysore.[2] In August 1736, he sent his army against Mysore under his generals Khasim khan and Murad khan. The army passed through Kolar, Chikkaballapur, Hosakote and Bangalore. It encamped at the village near Channapattna. A severe conflict ensued between the two armies. In that war Dalavoy Devarajaiya of Mysore defeated the army in 1737. He forced the Nawab to go back.[3] This defeat was a great blow to the prestige of Dost Khan.

Shortly after he took charge of the administration of Tirichinapally, Chanda Sahib planned an invasion of Tanjore.[4] When Pratapsingh, the Nayak of Tanjore heard about Chanda Sahib's design on Tanjore he appealed to his master Sahu for help. As soon as the appeal reached Sahu, he sent an army under Raghuji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh to the Carnatic for

the relief of Tanjore. The Maratha army started early in 1740. On his way, Raghoji entered Mysore and invaded the fort of Srirangapattana.[5] The main object of Raghuji in undertaking the expedition to Mysore was to plunder. In the meanwhile, Sarvadhikari Nanjarajaiya died in 1739 and in his place Devarajaiya appointed his brother Karachuri Nanjarajaiya.[6] The authority of the kingdom was in the hands of Dalavoy Devarajaiya never wanted to risk a war with the Marathas. He therefore made peace with Raghuji. Raghuji was at that time on his way to Tirichinapally to reduce Chanda Sahib. Devarajaiya wanted to use the opportunity for his own advantage. He also wanted to put an end to the authority of Chanda Sahib at Tirichinapally. Devaraja made peace with Raghuji by agreeing to help him in his war with Chanda Sahib. He offered Raghuji fifty lakh rupees and urged him to re-establish the ancient family of the Nayaks at Madura by removing Chanda Sahib.[7] The Raja of Mysore was anxious to get Chanda Sahib removed at Tirichinapally because Devarajaiya was also worried that Chanda Sahib would at any time move on Mysore and disturb peace in the region. It was also the desire of the Wodeyars of Mysore from the time of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to annex Tirichinapally to Mysore. Tirichinapally acted as the key to the Carnatic region "Under the pretext of restoring the Nayak rule in Tirichinapally the Mysore Raja had in view the incorporation of Tirichinapally in the kingdom of Mysore.[8] On concluding the treaty with Mysore the Maratha's army marched on Tirichinapally and besieged the fort. A bloody battle was fought at that place. In the battle the Marathas defeated Chanda Sahib and captured him alive and took him to Satara as a prisoner.

Tirichinapally fell into the Marathas who hoisted their banner in that place in March 1741.

The fall of Tirichinapally complicated the matters in the Carnatic. It was because the Marathas could not satisfy Devarajaiya. They avoided his request to transfer Tirichinapally to Mysore, because there were several aspirants for Tirichinapally at that time. Like the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore besides Devarajaiya. It was not easy for the Marathas to give Tirichinapally to any one of those claimants. And such a move would satisfy only one party and disappoint the other claimants. This would lead to much discontentment and unrest in the area. Raghuji therefore avoided all the claimants and temporarily appointed Murari Rao Ghorpade as the Governor of Tirichinapally " till the Souraj should give further orders.[9]

The Nizam who was busy in the affairs at Delhi and had just come to the Deccan. He was engaged to see the Maratha occupation of Tirichinapally. He planned an invasion of Carnatic to reestablish his authority in that region. Devarajaiya who had failed to take Tirichinapally with the help of Raghuji now joined the Nizam to wrest the province from the Marathas. According to a letter of 27 January 1743 Devarajaiya was prepared to offer to the Nizam one crore rupees if the latter would place the Raja of Mysore in charge of Tirichinapally.[10]

The Nizam was already contemplating an invasion of the Carnatic to curb the power of the Marathas in the region. Devarajaiya's treaty with him hastened his march. The Nizam proceeded towards Tirichinapally with his

army in February 1743. Murari Rao was forced to submit. The Nizam wrested Tirichinapally from the Marathas in August 1743. Dalavoy Devarajaiya had to pay one crore rupees to the Nizam according to the agreement of Tirichinapally had to be ceded to Mysore. But the Dalavoy could not pay the sum as the Mysore treasury was empty because of the heavy Compensation of fifty Lakh rupees paid by Mysore to Raghuji in 1740. The Nizam therefore placed Tirichinapally in charge of Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot in October 1743. Devarajaiya was again disappointed because his desire to take Tirichinapally was not fulfilled. Mysore only proved its incapability of taking Tirichinapally either by force or through tact and diplomacy. Dalavoy Devarajaiya had to waste enormous amount on that issue, without accomplishing anything. If Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar formerly tried to take Tirichinapally to Mysore by his valor, Devarajaiya attempted to acquire the province by paying heavy sum as contribution to the Marathas and the Nizam. But he was unsuccessful in acquiring Tirichinapally.

The loss of Tirichinapally was a great blow to the Maratha power in the Carnatic. Balaji Baji Rao, the Peshwa wanted the Maratha power in the Carnatic. Balaji Baji Rao the Peshwa wanted to retrieve the loss. He therefore sent an army under Babu Nayak a Maratha Sardar to the Carnatic in order to wrest Tirichinapally back from the Nizam. Tirichinapally became a bone of contention between the Marathas and the Nizam. When the Nizam, came to know that Babu Nayak had started on his Carnatic expedition, he sent his army under Anwar-ud-din of Arcot to check the Maratha advance.

Morasunadu was a strategic place connecting Kolar, Chittur and Carnatic region in Tamil Nadu. It became a source of conflict between Mysore and Marathas. Why did the Marathas march on Morasnnadu? The Marathas possibly were trying to reestablish their authority round about Bangalore so as to secure a base for their military operations in the Carnatic region, where they had to fight against the Nizam. The Marathas had lost to Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar many of their strongholds in the Morasunadu areas like Bangalore, Doddaballapur, Hosakote and so on. Those places acted as links between Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. The links were cut off after those places fell to Mysore. It was only in the Morasunadu region round about Kolar that the Marathas still exercised some influence. The local Morasu chieftains who were hostile to Mysore became strong allies of the Marathas. The Marathas possibly wanted to restore their authority in the region with the help of Morasu Palegars. Hence Babu Nayak advanced on Morasunadu. He captured the forts of Begur and Yeliyur. Babu Nayak instigated the Morasu chief Range Gowda of Doddaballapur to revolt against Mysore. Doddaballapur had been added to Mysore by Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II in 1711.[12] Since then, it was a dependency of Mysore. Range Gowda was a feudatory of Mysore and he now threw off his allegiance to Mysore and joined the Marathas. With the help of the Marathas, he occupied Devanahalli after putting to rout Narayana Gowda, the Palegar of that principality. Having set up Range Gowda against Mysore and creating a great confusion in Morasunadu, Babu Nayak planned an attack on Srirangapattana.[13]

Nanjarajaiya succeeded his brother Devarajaiya as Dalavoy of the Mysore army in 1746. He soon appealed to Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot for help. The Nawab soon sent an army which consisted of the forces of his vassals in the Carnatic like Murari Rao Ghorpade of Gooti, Dilawar Khan of Sira and offered to help Nanjaraja of Mysore.[14] The Mysore army led by Dalavoy Nanjarajaiah left Srirangapattana early in 1746. At Bangalore the armay was reinforced by a detachment under Shabas Sahib and his brother Hyder Ali Khan, who was serving under Katti Gopal Raj Urs at Bangalore. The Mysore army siezed the fort of Devanahalli in August 1746. Range Gowda had the Maratha army, and it was led by Babu Nayak. The Mysore army was supported by Nawab Anwaruddin of Arcot and his feudatories. A battle was fought at Devanahalli. Nanjaraja won a brilliant victory in April 1744. Range Gowda was captured alive on the battlefield. Devanahalli fell to Mysore. Nanjarajaiah returned in triumph to Srirangapattana. Devanahalli proved to be the first step in Hyder Ali's rise to power. The campaign first brought Hyder to the light of history.[15] Hyder participated in this campaign as an ordinary soldier under his brother Shabas. His performance in the battlefield attracted the attention of Nanjaraja. He made him the head of a small body of troops in recognition of his service in the battles. Soon Hyder won the esteem of Nanjaraja and rose to greater heights in Mysore. And by his own valor he became more and more powerful in the politics of the kingdom. Nanjarajaiah left Srirangapattna early in 1746. At Bangalore the army was reinforced by a detachment under Shabas Sahib and his brother Hyder Ali Khan. The Mysore army seized the fort of Devanahalli in August

1746. Range Gowda had the support of the Maratha army. He was led by Babu Nayak. The Mysore army was supported by Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot and his feudatories. A battle was fought at Devanahalli. Nanjaraja won a brilliant victory in April 1747.[16] Range Gowda was captured alive on the battlefield. Devanahalli fell to Mysore and Nanjarajaih returned in triumph to Srirangapattana.

Aurangzib died in 1707. The Nizam claimed overlordship over the south as the Mughals' agent in or about 1713. Kumr-ud-din Chin-Killich-Khan was nominated Nizam-ud-mulk with a nominal control over the Mughal possessions in Southern India. His deputies at Arcot claimed through his alleged right while the Mughals direct representative claimed through his alleged right overlordship. But the fact was that the South was never conquered either by the Mughals or the Nizams. In 1748, a disputed succession to the Nawabship of Arcot in Tamil Nadu arose. The fight was between the rival claimants. Their objective was the establishment of the right to possession over Tamil Nadu. They could not claim by virtue of any conquest or effectively occupy in a military sense and collect its revenue.[17] The English and the French had till then been but traders and had not put forth any pretensions to territory and had no military forces worth the name. They began to interfere in the affairs of the local powers.

Mysore had her own interests in the struggle centering round the restoration of Hindu rule in Madura and Tirichinapally. Tirichinapally became the main point of Southern expansion. Mysore as early as 1642 became the

pivotal point of Mysore in political relations throughout the greater part of the latter half of the seventeenth century, a position which was keenly contested from time to time. And Tirichinapally, after its sieze by the Nizam and its evacuation by Murari Rao in 1743, was included within the immediate Jurisdiction of Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot in1744.

Tirichinapally as the Southern-most limit of expansion of the kingdom of Mysore tended in an increasing measure to engage the attention of Dalavoy Devarajaiya and his brother Karachuri Nanjarajaiya especially after the final disappearance of Bangaru Tirumala (of the Nayak family of Madura) from the arena of South Indian politics (1744). Meanwhile the Marathas were alarmed by Murari Rao's evacuation of Tirichinapally (August 1743) towards the close of 1744. Accordingly, the Nizam desired Nawab Anwar-ud-din of the Arcot to put up a stout opposition to the Marathas with the help of all the Karnataka chiefs and allies. In December 1744, Anwar-ud-din marched, against Babu Nayak at the head of 65,000 horses being joined also by his 3rd son Muhammad Ali from Hyderabad. Before commencing hostilities, Anwar-ud-din attempted to pacify the Marathas by offering them a sum of money but they were found to demand Tirichinapally.

The position had worsened during the period of 60 years that had elapsed since the death of Chikkadeva. Muslim control of the South had been tightened by the creation of two Nawabships-Sira and Arcot in place of one. The Marathas had established themselves as a power at Tanjore. The Nizam had become independent and claimed control over the South.

Foreign nations like the English and French had shown no inclination to take sides between the contending parties. All things pointed to the continuance of the prevailing conflict. Nanjaraja saw that there was no hope for the South so long as those conditions lasted. His conviction was that a final attempt at the capture of Tirichinapally would be the key to the Southern supremacy, which was a dire necessity. He saw that there was no other way to avoid the subjection of the South to the foreigner. The early terrors inspired by the Muslim name had died ages ago. The Muslim had been fought repeatedly and defeated. Those who remembered the things came to believe not only in the justice of their cause but also in the possibility of the success of a well-organized campaign against those who were to wrest the power from its rightful owners. It seemed out of the question that South India could be subjected to foreign supremacy while there was yet a chance to secure its independence.

Dalavoy Nanjarajiah in Tirichinapally Affairs (1751-55)

The course of events in South India during 1748-1751 sketched above appears to have enabled the Dalavoy brothers as early as May 1751 to concentrate their attention on the south of Mysore and to station a detachment of 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot at Dindigal (an earlier acquisition of the kingdom)[18] with a view to safeguarding her southern frontier and if possible to advance on Tirichinapally as circumstances might require the acquisition of Tirichinapally as the aim of Mysore. It dominated as much the military as diplomatic policy of Nanjarajaiya and his brother.

Nanjarajaiya tried to promise aid to both in turn and all the while his eye was on Tirichinapally and how to get hold of it for Mysore. Tirichinapally was the key to the Tamil Nadu and he had a view that it should be gained, whatever may happen on its possession depended in his view the supremacy of Mysore over the South of India. Almost simultaneously it became the keynote of Dupleix's policy to enlist the support of the rulers of Mysore and Tanjore and the seventy-two palegars of the Tirichinapally country on the side of Chanda Sahib. About July 1751, Mysore responded to Dupleix's invitation by sending Vakil Gopal Das and Narasinga Das to the Governor of Pondicherry. Those activities attracted the attention of the English at Madras whose Governor Thomas Saunders on August 23 wrote[19] to the king of Mysore persuading him to join the side of Muhammad Ali against Chanda Sahib and cautioning him against the motives of the French in regard to Mysore. Meanwhile Muhammad Ali hard pressed by Chanda Sahib at Tirichinapally had sent his Vakil Seshagiripant to the court of Srirangapattana and entered into an agreement (Kararu) with the authorities there to cede the fort and country of Tirichinapally to Mysore as the price of her assistance to him in raising the sieze of the place (Tirichinapally).[20] In part execution of that agreement, a detachment of Mysore horse and foot was to proceed to Muhammad Ali's immediate relief early in September[21] 1751. While the English continued to press Mysore to support the claims of Mohammad Ali to the Nawabship of Arcot.[22] By September 1751, the expected detachment under the command of Virrannaraj and Barakki Venkata Rao marching from Dindigal, arrived within 30 kms. of

Tirichinapally.[23] Finally he reached Karur on the 14th.[24] By the 24th, Mysore had further provided Muhammad Ali with financial help to the extent of Rs. 80,000,[25] and on the 29th Karachuri Nanjarajaiya set out with the main army from Srirangapattana[26] after subsiding, and settling matters with Murari Rao of Gooty who was to join him with 5,000 horse at Tirichinapally. About the middle of October 1751, Nanjarajaiya reached Srirangam,[27] where for nearly two months, he awaited the arrival of Murari Rao. From where he exchanged friendly letters with the Governor of Madras, assuring him of his support to Muhammad Ali.[28] Meanwhile, Muhammad Ali was eagerly expecting further supplies in men and money from Mysore.[29] And Chanda Sahib, having crossed the Cauvery and the Coleroon, had encamped round the fort of Tirichinapally and was on bad terms with Mysore, menacing her safety.[30] At the same time, Dupleix had been alarmed by recent developments. In September 1751 letters of Englishmen from Tirichinapally to Fort St. David about the non-arrival of the Mysore army had been intercepted at Pondicherry. Dupleix criticized the action of Mysore in joining Muhammad Ali, threatening to invade her and seize her fortresses if she assumed the offensive against the French or helped Muhammad Ali.[31] But the Mysorean Vakil Narasingadas at Pondicherry had been directed to declare that no help would be sent from Mysore to Muhammad Ali and that the troops (of Mysore) had marched only as a measure of precaution.[32] Further in November 1751, Muhammad Ali and the English were becoming impatient at the delay in the arrival of the allied troops (of Tanjore, Mysore and Murari Rao) to the relief of Tirichinapally. Nanjarajaiya, obviously to

gain time and be on the safe side, offered Chanda Sahib and the French promises of his assistance. He proposed through his Vakil an agreement with Chanda Sahib. The terms of the agreement were 1) both the parties were to remain mutual friends 2) that part of the Tirichinapally country which had remained long in the possession of Mysore was not to be interfered with 3) the Palegars who had joined Mysore were not to be molested 4) for the maintenance of 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot (of Mysore) who were to remain constantly with Chanda Sahib. The latter was to assign lands adjoining the Mysore territory yielding rupees three lakhs annually. Chanda Sahib saw that Nanjarajaiya was a stronger party. He consented to those terms. He promised not to molest any Palegar except of Toreyur (Turaiyar). He assigned Sondikoppam and certain countries seized by Tondaman in satisfaction of the last clause. Dupleix not only approved of that negotiation but also as desired by Chanda Sahib, directed a letter to be written to Nanjarajaiya to the effect that he would fulfill Chanda Sahib's agreement.

During the Mysorean struggle for Tirichinapally (1752-1755) Hyder made a name for himself as a loyal servant of Nanjarajaiya against Muhammad Ali's treachery. In July 1752, he even suggested to him the capture of the Nawab. In January 1753, he with Hari Singh his military rival led the Mysore horse and charged the enemy at Srirangam terminating the skirmish by the seizure of some firelocks. Again in April 1755, he tactfully put down a rising of the Mysore troops at Srirangam promising to satisfy them with half their dues within three days. So powerful indeed was the influence of his personality over the military that they soon recognized him

as their leader went over to him and prepared to march back to Srirangapattana as if nothing had happened.

In June 1755, Nanjarajaiya on his way to Mysore dismissed some of his forces and placed the rest under Hyder (now Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur) appointing him Faujdar of Dindigal and assigning to him places below the ghats. (viz., Satyamangalam, Erode and Sankhagiri) yielding 300,000 Gopali varahas.[33] During 1755-1757 Hyder was active in Dindigal subduing Ammi Nayaka, Appi Nayaka and other Palegars of Palani (palni) Virupakshi and Millemirangi winning the goodwill of the local populace by presents and benevolences(nazarana) accumulating funds to the extent of rupees two lakh. Securing orders for his measures from vakil Khande Rao at Srirangapattana and equipping himself with resources in men and materials.

During the last phase of Chanda Sahib's contest for the possession of Tirichinapally (February-June 1752) the Mysoreans and Murari Rao distinguished themselves as allies of Muhammad Ali and the English. In particular they actively assisted in captain Clive's blockade of law in Srirangam (April-June).[34] There was Clive's Attack on Autevil at Valikondapuram (June).[35] They were on the whole of considerable service to their allies in the course of events leading to the surrender of Law and Chanda Sahib at Srirangam(June) 1752 A.D.

After the disaster at Tiruchinapalli Nanjarajiah returned to Srirangapattana. Hyder Ali who was powerful asked the Dalavoy to retire. He offered one the five places to go and settle namely Katte-malalavadi,

Piryapatna, Konanur, Bettadapura and Arkalgud yielding only a lakh of Varahas. Nanjarajaiya was sent to Konanur and Hyderali returned to Srirangapattana after placing guards over the Mysore fort.

That was an end of the Dalavoy regime in Mysore. Nanjarajaiya accompanied by Barakki Srinivasa Rao (who had remained with him in Mysore since June 1759) quietly proceeded to Konanur where he settled himself with his family and spent the rest of his life.

Estimate of Nanjarajiah's Role in Tirichinapally

After the disaster of Tirichinapally, there was no more political liberty in South India. The issue between Nanjaraja and Muhammad Ali was really a conflict between free Southern India and fettered Southern India with its own culture and civilization and a Southern India under the control of foreigners.

Nanjaraja in his efforts to save the South exhausted himself and Mysore of its resources. It would be an ideal to speculate on what might have been, had he succeeded in his attempt, how long would such success have been kept up by him or by those who followed him? How far would it have changed the current of history? Who can venture to answer questions of this nature? But it is impossible despite all his faults and deficiencies to withhold from Nanjaraja our admiration for striking a final blow for the political independence of the South, while the attempt lasted he was the hero of the South. All eyes had turned to him for driving the foreigner out of the land.

There can be no question that popular goodwill was on his side in the attempt. He had not only persuaded himself of the need for such a venture but had also persuaded Murari Rao for the movement to join him though the latter proved a traitor. Later and all the forces from Mysore to Tirichinapally had joined him. That is an achievement that despite the failure that overtook him stands to his credit and to the credit of the people of South India. Nanjarajaiya's defeat at Tirichinapally had to be deplored because it opened the way to the South passing under the sway of the foreigner who eventually had himself to make way for another stronger than himself. What the success of Muhammad Ali meant was not seen in 1755 when Nanjarajaiya turned his back from Tirichinapally. But in 1756, when the English won at Plassey and laid the foundation for their rule not only in Bengal but all over India. From every point of view, from that of the victor and vanquished the success of Muhammad Ali at Tirichinapally had to be characterized as a dishonest victory.

There is enough in contemporary records to prove that if it was not obtained exactly by open fraud and violence to truth. It was made possible by recourse to prevarication and rank dissimulation, which deceived nobody except those who indulged in it. So far as Nanjarajaiya was concerned it must be frankly confessed that even if the ultimate issue of his fight for Tirichinapally was known to him beforehand if all the South had known what it must be, even then it had to be admitted that Mysore could not have turned from the course she followed. She was to take account of her then position South of her name and fame of what Chikkadeva had done of what

Vijayanagara her predecessor had done for ages and of what the future had in store for her and others in the South. It is not possible to adjudge that Nanjaraja was wrong in choosing to risk country's wealth, his name, his fame, his all for the freedom and safety of all in the south of India. That should be the final verdict of history on him. There can be no doubt whatever enough has been said to show what the struggle for Tirichinapally really meant.

It was in fact the last effort put forward by the Hindu Kingdom of Mysore as the true representative of imperial Vijayanagaraa for the political independence of the South. With the defeat of Nanjaraja and his departure to Mysore that attempt may be taken to have received its practical death - blow. Though Hyder Ali as we have seen adopted the policy of expansion in the South initiated by Nanjaraja and his predecessors and though he prosecuted their aims and objectives, he might perhaps be taken to have been moved by other impulses as well. He might even have prosecuted the old aims and objectives purely from the point of view of an adventurer or even for the sole purpose of maintaining his own personnel supremacy undisputed. Whatever the motive might be he did prosecute the aims and objectives of Nanjaraja, we have shown the credit of, Nanjaraj. There were reasons to believe that the objectives of Nanjarajaiah and those of Hyder in their initial stages at least had been misunderstood by writers on the history of the period we are examining. It is therefore necessary to pause a little and clear that tangled web they have woven around themselves. Mysore had an inviolable claim to Tirichinapally, a claim which could not be set aside. Up

to 1736, when the rule over the South was undisputably Hindu in Character.[36] Tirichinapally formed part of the Nayaka kingdom of Madura. It was the chief stronghold of that kingdom in Tirumala Nayak's time (1623-1659) and it was in its hands until the death of queen Minakshi in whose reign it was first occupied on her behalf by Chanda Sahib in 1734 and finally on his own in 1736.

With all ambition and love of power, it is indeed to the credit of the Dalavoy brothers that they were able to divert their attention from the immediate preoccupations of the hour and devote themselves whole heartedly to the solution of broader questions of policy. During the early years of their reign (1734-1751) they not only kept a steady eye on the Westward and Southward expansion of Mysore (up to Malabar and Tirichinapally) but also took a keen interest. There were also serious defects in the character of Nanjarajaiya over-confidence in the justice of his cause, unjustified reliance on French support and vacillation, indecision and intrigue in the prosecution of his scheme. And these contributed directly to the collapse of what was otherwise a well-conceived project of political expansion.[37]

The disaster that overtook the foreign policy of the Dalavoys accompanied by the exactions of the Nizam and the Marathas from the kingdom of Mysore had the immediate effect of draining the resources of the State and reacting adversely on the court of Srirangapattana in 1755. It was too late when Krishnaraja Wodeyar realizing the gravity of the situation

sought to assert himself (1755-1757) and adjust his relations with the Dalavoys on a new footing (1758). The attempt though purely a temporary palliative proved eventually a failure. It led to the end of the Dalavoy regime and paved the way for the rise to prominence of a more powerful usurper in the person of Hyder Ali from the lower ranks of the military (1759). Indeed it was an irony of fate that almost at a time when Krishnaraja Wodeyar was about to inaugurate his independent rule. Hyder had become a power in Mysore (1759-1760). In vain did Krishnaraja Wodeyar with Royalists exert himself to the utmost to hold his own against Hyder during1760-1761. Hyder's usurpation was complete in July 1761.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar was a pious and promising ruler. Under other circumstances he should have fared differently. The Dalavoys too were noted for their piety and for their patronage of learning and promotion of literary activity. Karachuri Nanjarajiah was an accomplished scholar of the age. Had they but behaved loyally towards their sovereign, allowed him a legitimate share in the management of State affairs, planned carefully, worked vigorously, exacted what was due from their allies and acted generally, with greater discretion during 1746-1755, the course of the history of Mysore and of South India would have run along different lines.

Dalavoy Nanjarajaiah and Muhammad Ali in Mysore-Tamil Nadu Relations

We may analyse the attitude of Muhammad Ali towards Mysore during the period of our study in relation with Tamil Nadu politics.

Muhammad Ali's attitude was directly responsible for the death of Chanda Sahib. On the retirement of Chanda Sahib to Srirangam (Feb.1752) Muhammad Ali paid a visit to Nanjarajaiya. According to the contemporary chronicle Hyder Namah, he affected to hand over the keys of Tirichinapally fort to the latter and to permit him to garrison the place, professing at the same time his desire to be allowed an assignment of lands in Karur to live in peace Nanjarajaiya, however confines the chronicle believing in Muhammad Ali, soothed him by stating that he would secure him Haradanahalli in the Mysore territory as a Jahgir after putting to fight Chanda's troops, and handed back the keys to him. He not only allowed Muhammad Ali to return to the fort with a select retinue but also lent him a further sum of 10,000 varahas for the expenses of his troops. Then Muhammad Ali bribed and won over to his side Murari Rao and the Tanjorean general Majaji. While continuing his friendship with Nanjarajaiya he began systematically to obstruct the passage of the latter's men to and from the fort of Tirichinapally.

Meanwhile Chanda Sahib who was on the point of surrendering to the English at Srirangam, during May-June (1752), having caught scent of the shifting policy of his rival sent his vakil to Nanjarajaiya. Imploring him not to confide in Muhammad Ali and assuring him of his support in obtaining possession of the fort. If he only took up his (Chandas) cause, at first, Nanjarajaiya was not inclined to listen to Chanda's words. About this time however Muhammad Ali had gone to the extent of cutting off supplies of provisions to the Mysore troops encamped at Tirichinapally. At this point Nanjarajaiya understood fully the bent of mind of his ally. He entered into an

agreement (Kararu) with Chanda Sahib through Manaji. He undertook to station Chanda's troops on the banks of the Chintamani river, in readiness for an attack on Muhammad Ali. Alarmed at this news Muhammad Ali spread the rumour that he had lost his control over the fort of Tirichinapally in consequence of a mutiny of the English troops for their arrears of pay, and that however the Mysoreans might take possession of the fort provided they captured Chanda Sahib. He also blocked up the Mysoreans who had previously entered the fort. He again bribed Manaji and plotted against Chanda's life. At length one night (June1752) Manaji having induced Chanda Sahib and his Dewan Seshagiri Rao (prisoners at Srirangam) to leave the camp on the pretext of an alleged them as pre- arranged, Muhammad Ali quietly retired to the fort, the heads were however sent to Nanjarajaiya who later dispatched them to Srirangapatam where they were suspended on the Mysore gate.[38]

Landless, friendless and destitute of men and money Muhammad Ali looked to Nanjaraja in Mysore and the English at Madras for effective help. Nanjaraja's help was sought because he was the man who had both men and money. He was at the head of the best organized State of the time in South India, Mysore had the prestige of an old hereditary monarchy. He was well-known for his ambitions expansionist aims in South India, the key to which was Tirichinapally, and he had fought for it. Huge money and many lives had been already sacrificed for it since the days of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Muhammad Ali, knew the inordinate desire for power on the part of Nanjaraja and his brother Devaraja.

He was in a desperate state. He had no more territory in Tirichinapally town. He made up his mind to offer Nanjaraja his own terms. When he did so, he was determined to cheat Nanjaraja of his dues when it came to fulfillment. He knew the English at Madras would not agree to his doing it. He desired to take no risks with them. He kept the clause in the treaty relating to the surrender of Tirichinapally and its dependencies Nanjaraja took care to guard his position. He won over Murari Rao, and attached him to himself at great cost. Murari Rao was thus detached from the main Maratha power and prevented from making common cause with Pratap Singh of Tanjore, who in this matter was inimical to Nanjaraja's aims in the South. But he too proved treacherous in the end. True to his word, Nanjaraja kept the clause a profound secret. Even Murari Rao knew nothing of it. He found it impossible to conceal it from the sagacity of his subsidiary, especially in the later stages of the war. When Murari Rao came to know of it, he made up his mind to turn it to his own advantage at the proper time.[39] The English at Madras realized the enormity of the offence committed by Muhammad Ali only after the fall of Tirichinapally. The capture and death of Chanda Sahib was the signal for Nanjaraja's demand for a fulfillment of Muhammad Ali's treaty with Mysore. The English at Madras knew nothing of the secret clause in the treaty, until the time came for its fulfillment.

On the death of Chanda Sahib, Major Lawrence sent 400 of the French prisoners of war to Fort St. David and brought up the rest with the military stores and artillery at Tambukesvaram into Tirichinapally and completed all his other dispositions and proposed to Muhammad Ali that he

should move forth with at the head of the confederate army into the Carnatic. And the news of his successes at Tirichinapally would help to reduce the other fortresses under the control of Chanda Sahib facilitate the establishment of his government over the province and help to raise the revenue due from it. Muhammad Ali pretended to acquiesce in this advice, but showed what Orme calls an "unaccountable backwardness" to put it into execution, the inconsistency in his conduct perplexed all but the select few who were acquainted with the clause. The English had no idea of the difficulties which held Muhammad Ali back. When to their great astonishment Nanjaraja explained the mystery by refusing to march until the city of Tirichinapally with all its dependencies was delivered up to him. For that he said, was the price that he had stipulated with Muhammad Ali for his assistance and Muhammad Ali confessed the truth when Major Lawrence demanded an explanation of it. He protested that his extreme distress alone had extorted a promise from him that Tirichinapally belonged to the Mughals. He himself was only a viceroy, appointed to govern it during the pleasure of that Prince. Firmly resolved on not parting with the place, he in a word proposed to amuse Nanjaraja with a further promise of delivering it up within two months. By this time he hoped, by collecting the so-called arrears of revenue due from the province of Arcot to repay the expenses which Nanjaraja had incurred by assisting him. As immediate reparation "a palliative" in the words of Orme[40], he proposed to give up the fort of Madura with its dependencies which included a very large district. These terms, he suggested to major Lawrence, were sufficient reward for all that Nanjaraj had

done for him. More especially, he said that the reduction of Chanda Sahib's power had proved an essential advantage to the interests of Mysore as well as to his own. Major Lawrence was so surprised at this statement as anybody else in Tirichinapally. His powers were confined to the operations in war field. He reported matters to the governor and council at Madras and waited for instructions. Meanwhile the Governor and council at Madras had received simultaneously, applications from both the parties, each setting forth as might be expected the subject in his own way.

The ulterior motives of Muhammad Ali in regard to Tirichinapally was exposed as the contemporary diarist records.[41] "The Mysore Raja's people, including even the vakil were not allowed even to enter the fort. Muhammad Ali Khan told them that the English had occupied it and refused either to give it up or allow any to enter". His brother Abdul Wahab Khan remonstrated with him to surrender the fort and continue with Mysore.[42]

Nanjaraja was determined to get the fort and so he encamped with his entire army before the walls of Tirichinapally. He enlisted the services of Murari Rao's and his troops, (at Rupees 5,000 a day) as well as some matchlock people and horse man (who had lately deserted the French) he prepared to attack Muhammad Ali,[43] the combined forces refused to march on with later's army (Major Lawrence) towards Gingee, “till he had complied with his promise of giving up Tirichinapally to the king of Mysore”.[44]

By the end of June 1752, Muhammad Ali sought to negotiate through his vakil, proposing to make over to the Mysoreans the fort and the country

of Tirichinapally as soon as he was settled in Arcot and offering them the English guarantee to that effect Nanjarajaiya, however, in keeping with Muhammad Ali's original agreement, insisted on the prompt delivery of the fort and its dependencies as a condition precedent to his escorting the Nawab to Arcot. Meanwhile, the Mysore troops had begun the blockade of Tirichinapally, intercepting the passage of provisions thither early in July 1752. Muhammad Ali secretly managed to win over Murari Rao to his side. He paid him Rupees two lakh as the price for affording assistance to him against the French.[45] He also through Murari's mediation entered into a fresh agreement with Nanjaraja, and undertook to arrange by means of a Sanad from the Governor of Madras to deliver up the fort to Mysore within two months from June 9. While the Mysoreans, in the meantime, were to be allowed to station a Killedar with 200 men in the fort and to maintain uninterrupted provisions thereto.[46]

But this was not materialized. Nanjarajaiya joined with Dupleix and Murari Rao and opposed Muhammad Ali in attacking Tirichinapally from the end of 1752 to 1755. His French and Maratha alliance also did not help to secure Tirichinapally, as the French were defeated. Dupleix was recalled to France in 1754 and the peace treaty was signed with the English by the French Governor Godeheu in Jan. 1755 which ended French supremacy in Tamil Nadu, and Nanjarajaiya had to return to Srirangapattana and shortly afterwards he had to quit politics.

Dalavoy Nanjarajaiah and Murari Rao in Mysore-Tamil Nadu Relations

As Robert Orme the historian has justly remarked[47] Murari Rao was in reality the most improper person that could have been chosen to adjust the difference that had arisen between Muhammad Ali and Nanjaraja. With regard to Tirichinapally politics his objects were (1) by interacting himself with Muhammad Ali (2) to persuade him to admit a large body of his own troops into Tirichinapally city as the best means of deceiving Nanjaraja into the belief that he really intended to give it up according to his promise. Once this was agreed to by Muhammad Ali, he would have instructed his men to seize any opportunity that might offer of seducing or overpowering the rest of the garrison. If this scheme succeeded he intended to keep possession of the city which as we know he had formerly governed for a time himself; if there should be no chance for the realization of his plan. He determined to protract the dispute as long as possible by negotiations. During that period, he was a sure of paying by Nanjaraja. At the same time, he should get considerable presents from Muhammad Ali. If this double-dealing should fail he proposed to make Nanjaraja to declare war. To create an opinion of the Marathas to carry it on without continuing them in his service. Muhammad Ali understood the game of Murari Rao. He would rather place his trust in Nanjaraja than in Murari. Muhammad Ali realized that he could not even move out of the city to join his English allies. Nanjarajaiah had threatened to attack him, if he showed any inclination to do so before settling the dispute that had arisen between them. He therefore gave Nanjaraja the revenues of the island of Srirangam and several other adjoining districts empowering him

to collect them himself. He also promised to deliver up Tirichinapally at the end of two months. In the meantime, he agreed to receive 700 men (200 according to one source) into the city provided that they were his own men and not Marathas. This shows the inner convictions of Muhammad Ali. He placed no reliance in Murari Rao. He tried to escape from the attack. It is clear from the terms he finally agreed to be with Nanjaraja. But he was as much false to Nanjarajaiah as Murari Rao had promised himself to be. Nanjaraja was not deceived by the promises of Muhammad Ali. He wanted to gain time as much as Muhammad Ali. Muhammad Ali thought that an immediate declaration of war would come in the way of the progress of war in the Carnatic from which he expected some signal advantage, whilst Nanjaraja delayed to commence hostilities against him. Nanjarajaiya, on the other hand, wished for nothing so much as the departure of Muhammad Ali and the English battalion that he might carry on his schemes to surprise Tirichinapally which he realized their presence would render impossible. The excuses Nanjaraja offered, when he was asked to move were understood as showing his intentions. To frustrate them 2000 Europeans with 1500 Sepoys were placed in garrison in the city under the command of captain Daltam, who was instructed to oppose any surprise against it.

Perhaps a greater concern to Nanjarajiah during the period was the attitude of his ally Murari Rao. It was not consistent. Murari's mediation in the dispute over the cession of Tirichinapally to Mysore (July1752) resulted in a ruinous and most exorbitant charge to Nanjarajaiah. He was made to pay heavily both him and the Nawab.[48] On the morrow of the latter's departure

from Tirichinapally, differences on the subject between Murari and Nanjarajaiah naturally arose[49] and were apparently made up in August by a solemn treaty known to have been ratified by them at the Srirangam temple.[50] Murari while he continued openly to profess his alliance with Mysore was amusing Khair-ud-din (at Tirichinapally) with the offer of a treaty and towards the close of August, he dispatched 2000 Marathas under his paymaster Yoonas Khan and Chettappa (Settappa) to assist Muhammad Ali against the French in the Arcot province.[51] On that occasion Murari appeared to view with disfavor the Mysorean claims to Tirichinapally, a behavior perhaps best reflected in a message he sent to captain Dalton "expressing his great satisfaction that Tirichinapally is not delivered up. Saying that he would never be easy to see it in the king of Mysore's possession". During September-October 1752, Murari was in the employment of both Mysore and Muhammad Ali and was known to be receiving from the latter a salary of Rupees 7,000 a day.[52] At the same time as he continued his profession of attachment to them and he was suspected (in August) of negotiating a treaty for an alliance with Dupleix at Pondicherry.[53] In September, however shortly after Lawrence had defeated the French at Bahur (September 6) Dupleix sought Murari's assistance against Muhammad Ali and wrote to him offering a larger sum of money than he received from Mysore and to spare as many firelocks as he needed for his use.[54] Murari at first was unwilling to enlist himself in the cause of the French replaying that his present engagement with the Mysore Dalavoy puts its out of his power to enter into any other service. Early in October,

however, Dupleix sent Mirza Abdul Nabi Beig to treat with him offering him Rupees two lakh, if he marched with his army and attacked and slew Muhammad Ali and another two lakhs after the latter had been disposed of.[55] Towards the close of October, Murari was reported to have accepted the offer (striking the bargain at six lakh rupees 3 to be paid directly into the hands of Yanus khan the other 3 sometime later) to undertake to engage his troops in the French service on a monthly subsistence of rupees one and a half lakh.[56] It was not however till about the end of December 1752 that Murari Rao marched towards Pondicherry to join the French.

Murari Rao tried to make as much as possible for himself at the expense of Nanjaraja. His stipulations with Muhammad Ali showed clearly that he desired to get possession of Tirichinapally for himself. He tried to cheat Nanjaraja who had employed him. The fact that Muhammad Ali evaded him testifies to his intelligence and sagacity. But that could not excuse Murari Rao from the blame attaching to him in Tirichinapally affair. His plan was plain. He was to have stood by Nanjarajaiah and asked for carrying out of the treaty. If Muhammad Ali failed to agree he should have been made to know something of the consequences that would follow. But Murari Rao's love for money and desire for a continuance of hostilities which brought him funds was so great that he had a little regard for his own ward as for the just interests of others. Nanjaraja's bargain for his help proved a bad one. Nor was Murari Rao's conduct towards the close of the war any better. Again he was found bargaining with both Nanjaraja and Muhammad Ali and making the most of the situation for himself. During the course of the

war, Muhammad Ali had repeatedly induced Murari Rao to return to his own country. The exorbitant demands on the side and the scarcity for money on the other had rendered it impossible for him to carry through the idea. In 1754, the position of Nanjaraja in regard to money was perhaps no better. Murari Rao began to fire if a war which brought him no money and tried to seek a plausible pretext to break with Nanjaraja. He demanded the payment of his arrears which amounted to rupees ten lakh. Nanjaraja having never refused to advance him money whenever he wanted it, suggested he had already overpaid him, sharp altercations followed and Murari Rao pretended to withdraw his troops and retired to the north bank of the Coleroon declaring not to return until his claims were met. Muhammmad Ali having heard of this tried to get rid of Murari Rao without any expenses to himself. In this state of affairs the march of Gaude Rao to Tirukkattupalli occurred. It instantly suggested to Murari Rao that if he could administer a severe blow to Gaude Rao's troops it would surely induce the king of Tanjore, already terrified by the incursions of the Mysoreans and the French to furnish money necessary to purchase his retreat. If disappointed in this expectation, Murari Rao thought that he at least would have the satisfaction of taking venegence for the severe blow he had sustained from the Manakji (Manaji) earlier in the early part of 1754. The double motive of interest and revenge induced him to cross in the rivers of Coleroon and Cauvery in the night with 3,000 of his best troops. At daybreak he fell upon Gunde Rao's party so furiously that only 300 with their general escaped. The rest were either killed or taken prisoners. He wrote to Muhammad Ali who had arrived at Tanjore that if he

would return to his own country and never more be an enemy either to him, the English or the king of Tanjore. Muhammad Ali having as usual no funds applied as Murari Rao had foreseen to the king of Tanjore. After many meetings the king of Tanjore consented to meet the demand. The articles of a treaty were drawn up signed, according to which Rs 50,000 were to be paid to Murari Rao as he reached Valikondapuram. To which place he had previously retired from Tirichinapally a lakh more immediately he reached the pass of the Western mountains and the balance of Rs 1.5 lakhs when he reached his own country. While he was pushing through the faithless transaction with the enemies of Nanjaraja, whom he was pledged to support did not care to do so. He wanted to behave as a truthful employee but because he desired to get as much as he could from Nanjaraja before he finally left the scene. He suggested that if Nanjaraja would pay him his so-called arrears, he would return to his assistance only to be duped once again. Nanjarajaiya sent him Rs 50,000, which was what he could spare at the moment. He marched away with all his troops to Valikondapuram and from there shortly thereafter to his own country.

It is difficult to understand Murari Rao's conduct in deserting Nanjarajiya. He behaved throughout treacherously. He foiled the attempt of Nanjaraja to get Tirichinapally. He actively interfered and induced Muhammad Ali to break the treaty between them. He betrayed Nanjaraja's cause, while all the time he was adding to his coffers through the liberty of Nanjarajaiah. Murari Rao was at variance with truth. Hyder Ali's servant and apt pupil of Nanjaraja who took part in the war for Tirichinapally including its

last stages remembered the part played by Murari Rao in it and meted out punishment to him which finally ended both his career and life.

Dalavoy Nanjarajiah and the English in Mysore-Tamil Nadu Relations

English appreciated Nanjaraja's claim, they were both to lose either their hold on Muhammad Ali in whose immediate vicinity if not country, they not only lived but also traded on the large sum of money they had lent him. Though such thoughts came to them now and again, and though they even put them down in their debates and resolutions, still they always preferred to play awaiting game. They went so far as to answer effectively, Major Lawrence's objections to their view. But they would not make up their mind for a definitive treaty with the king of Mysore.[57] An accommodation with Dalavoy they realized even if it did not end the war would put it in their power to wage it with advantage.[58] But the change of policy that followed Godeheu's arrival and the advantages it seemed to offer, made them change their views. The truce was advantageous to Muhammad Ali also.[59] Muhammad Ali's debts accumulated and the English were sure with the truce to recover them and unless Muhammad Ali was supported in the changed circumstances they could not hope to realize the huge amount involved. He could be treated as the defacto and the titular Nawab of Arcot and used as a puppet to wage war in their own interests if war was renewed. The company could not in any case lose its money. That was the fundamental point with the English. Moral considerations weigh but lightly in matters where money is the prime factor in arriving at a decision. The English as a nation of traders desired to protect themselves first before trying

to protect others however just as equitable their cause and what Nanjaraja lost the English gained. Tirichinapally if it proved the grave of the French and final extinguishment of Mysore's legitimate ambitions in the South, became the first milestone in the ultimate success of the English as a nation in India. Tirichinapally even before Plassey thus paved the way for the establishment of British power in India. Nanjarajaiah showed the way to the English at Madras to recognize the fact that the capture of Tirichinapally would prove the ultimate victor of the South. Nanjarajiah led the way in the struggle and bore the brunt of it in men and money and the English reaped the benefit.

When English came to know that Tirichinapally was the price for Mysore's assistance about the middle of 1752,[60] they did not know what to say of it. They prudently determined not to interfere in the dispute unless violence should be used against Muhammad Ali professing great friendship for Nanjarajiah they strenuously recommended to both parties an amicable adjustment of their differences. The suggestion failed to carry conviction to Nanjaraja's mind. He with justice on his side demanded fulfillment of the treaty. He did not agree that Muhammad Ali was the agent of the Mughal and as such had no right to dispose of the Mughal's territory. The English his allies were really aghast at his conduct. They characterized it in their solemn proceedings as a knavish and weak action of the former because he (Muhammad Ali) knew he had no right to do it. It plainly appears to make a powerful enemy instead of a friend.[61] The English tried their utmost to reconcile the differences between Muhammad Ali and Nanjarajaiah in this matter. But they knew what a bad case they had to defend and what an

impossible compromise to effect when they pleaded that Nanjarajiah would be committing a breach of faith, if he deserted Muhammad Ali. Nanjaraja's taunt was effective to a degree. The bad scent of the Nawab's behavior said he[62] is spread over the world to such a degree that one could not discern the odor of one's faith. Nanjaraja's attitude is understandable in the light of the bad faith of Muhammad Ali. The injustice committed by the English in supporting their untruthful ally could not be forgiven.

Almost simultaneously the English Government at Fort St. George, Madras had been obliged to decide upon hostilities with Mysore. The attitude of Thomas Saunders governor at Madras and the members of his council in regard to the Tirichinapally question since June 1752 was in general that of allies of the Mughal Government (Sarakar) of the time and in particular that of mediators between Mysore and Muhammad Ali. Though they were gradually led to support the latter to counteract the ambitious designs of Dupleix and safeguard the commercial interests of the English in Tamil Nadu. At a consultation held on June 29, 1752 when news of Muhammad Ali's difference with Mysore first reached Madras. The president observed[63] that the present dispute between the king of Mysore and the Nawab was an affair of the utmost consequence in which we ought not to precipitate ourselves as the effects might be dangerous for should we receive a Jageer (Jahgir) for our alliance with the circar be anyway instrumental to the separating so large a district (as Tirichinapally) from the subaship. "Accordingly Saunders wrote[64] to Nanjarajaiya to send his vakil to Madras assuring him of his friendship and that no endeavors shall be wanting to

settle everything to the satisfaction of both the parties. According to a dispatch dated July 5 the dilemma was thus depicted. The Nawab admitted he had no right to give away such large countries and the English were allied with the circar to protect it and could not appear in such a transaction. Moreover, Mysore was the Nawab's sole support and should that State and the Marathas join the French, the Nawab would be in a dangerous situation. Dupleix was doing his best to forement those dissensions. At another consultation (July27) the president recorded[65] that was debated measures were proper to be adopted at that critical juncture. On the one hand the Mysore king and the Marathas (under Murari Rao) were disgusted at the Nawabs refusing to deliver up Tirichinapally according to agreement.

The position of the English at fort St.George on Tirichinapally between November 1752 to May 1753 perhaps best summed up in a dispatch to the court of directors, London, dated November 3, 1752.[66] The dispute between the Nawab and the king of Mysore continues; the latter had sent a vakil to Madras with offers to support the Nawab, if the English would guarantee the cession of Tirichinapally but the Nawab declared that he had no power to execute his promise which was made only out of dire necessity. Received a letter purporting to come from Salabat Jang desiring the English to support Muhammad Ali and denying the latter's right to cede Tirichinapally. There is no doubt the Nawab having made the promise but both he and the king must have known that it could not be fulfilled. The king immensely rich and the acquisition of Tirichinapally would lead to his conquering Tanjore (where the English and no less than the French had commercial settlements) and

becoming most powerful. In the South, Dupleix was negotiating with the Mysoreans and the Marathas. Another source dated May 6 1753[67] states that the intentions of the English were not to take possession of the country for themselves. Their opinion was that the country was made under the Mughal power, their trade might be carried on in safety for which reason they had assisted Muhammad Ali Khan in several respects and supported him. They have never attempted to take possession of the whole country like the French".

Saunders strove to make up a matter between Muhammad Ali and Mysore. During January-May 1753 he successively wrote[68] to Nanjarajaiya commenting on his hostile attitude towards the Nawab and advising him to be reconciled to him. In February-March, he even tried to bring external pressure to bear upon both Nanjarajaiya and Murari Rao by writing to peshwa Balaji Rao[69] and Saiyad Lashakar khan (Dewan of salabat Jang)[70] to advise them to desist from their scheme and retire to their countries in the interests of the welfare of the Mughal's dominions. These attempts having proved ineffective, in May, he empowered Major Lawrence and Robert Palk to reconcile the difference between the Nawab and the Mysore king through the mediation of Pratap Singh of Tanjore offering as the basis of settlement the mortgage of Tirichinapally country to Mysore in satisfaction of the Nawab's dues.[71] Nanjarajiah having however declined the offer and insisted on his demand for either the fort or the money lent in ready specie. Saunders at last on June 15 treated him as the Nawab's enemy[72] and wrote[73] warning him against the consequences of his alliance with the French.

Dalavoy Nanjarajaiah and the French in Mysore-Tamil Nadu Relations

He determined in 1752 to conquer Tirichinapally by means, fair or foul. The steps he took with this end in view were such that Lawrence, the English General, was compelled to place on English garrison in Tirichinapally for its protection. At the same time, the troops from Tanjore and Pudukotai left for their homes. With the result the English position at Tirichinapally was still further weakened. Dupleix saw the opportunity in all the happenings, won over Nanjaraja and Murari Rao, the Maratha chief, to his own side and he played a waiting game, for he had no military commander whom he could put forth against the veteran Lawrence. In any case, he thought he could starve out the garrison in the Tirichinapally fortress by preventing supplies of provisions and military stores to it, Lawrence as we know depended for the existence of his army entirely upon the safe arrival of his convoys and Dupleix planned with the aid of Nanjaraja and Murari Rao, to prevent in no uncertain manner. In this attempt however, his arrangement miscarried, though Nanjaraja and his army did not lack in their endeavours.

Since the outbreak of Muhammad Ali dispute over the cession of Tirichinapally to Mysore (June-July1752), there prevailed in Pondicherry expectations of an alliance of Mysore with the French, to capture the fort and country of Tirichinapally.[74] Such an alliance seemed eminently to further Dupleix overweening intention, namely, the establishment of French sway over the whole of India including "Mysore, Tanjore and Tirichinapally, etc, countries" South of the Krishna.[75] In August 1752, Nanjarajaiya was known

to be in treaty with Dupleix "whose offers" were held not satisfactory[76] early in October, however, Dupleix himself took the initiative, for while negotiating for the services of Murari Rao in his war against Muhammad Ali, he offered to secure Tirichinapally for Mysore, in return for which the Raja of Mysore, was to pay 30 lakh of rupees.[77] At the end of October an alliance of Dupleix with the Mysore King, Maratha and the Vellore Fouzdar (Ghulam Murtaza Khan) seemed to be on the point of conclusion.[78] It was not till about the end of December (1752) that Nanjaraja became really earnest about the alliance, Muhammad Ali having systematically foiled to comply with his agreements. Accordingly, Murari Rao marched on to Pondicherry. Nanjaraja sent his vakil Venataranarayanappa, to strike with Dupleix, an advantageous term for Mysore. At Pondicherry, Murari Rao we are told, remained indifferent, caring for his own interests.

Since January 1753, Venkatanarayanappa was left to rely on his own resources in conducting the negotiations. In February, Dupleix obviously to coerce Nanjarajaiya to accede to his own terms, wrote to him about his design to co-operate with peshwa Balaji Rao in an invasion of Mysore for the realisation of the latter's alleged dues (chauth), Dupleix's threat, however remained unanswered. Meantime, Venkatanarayanappa continued his diplomatic activities at Pondicherry. On April 21, he received a letter from Nanjarajaiya, "agreeing to all but one or two of the (French)[79] proposals". At the end of April, on the arrival of the English troops (under Major Lawrence) towards Mayavarm and Kumbakonam, Nanjarajaiah as he tells us[80] "entered into an agreement with the French who did the same with me on their part."

In May, the march of the English army to the relief of Tirichinapally, he wrote repeatedly to Dupleix, asking for the services of one Hasan-ud-din Khan.[81] Dupleix seemed reluctant to comply with the request, at the end of May. Nanjarajaya's alliances with the French Governor did not, in fact, appear to have become a reality till June 8. When he sent him a bill of exchange for rupees 3 lakh (towards 4-5 lakh promised in the first instance) drawn on Aetharam Tarwadi (Gumasta of Kosi das Bukkanji) payable at a month and a Golfs sight.[82] And it was not till about the middle of the month of (June) that Dupleix in satisfaction of the bill dispatched a crops of 300 French soldiers, infantry, guns etc. to help Nandi Raja, the Dalavoy of Mysore, who was commanding the Srirangam camp, in order to take Tirichinapally.[63]

As to the conduct of the French the less said the better, even before the date on which the terms of the truce were published-11 Jan. 1755. It was clear to Nanjaraja that the French were not ready to carry out their obligations. He naturally treated them just as he had treated Muhammad Ali, if they desired to retire, they could be said do so and go back to Pondicherry, they could not bind him to the terms of their treaty, they had no right, he openly declared to make any treaty with the English on his behalf, as a matter of fact, Nanjaraj had discovered even before the truce was concluded between the French and the English, that the French were determined to keep Tirichinapally for themselves if they should succeed in taking it. Nanjaraja said that the French were as much for deceiving him of the fruits of his victory as the English had been. The statement applied as much to the conduct of Dupleix as to that of Bussy who continued to fight the battles of

Salabat Jang against the country powers, the truce while it stipulated the cessation of hostilities in the Carnatic did not interfere with his status or the authority of his position in the Northern Circars. He continued to wield the full power of the Nizam against everyone, against his own position or to secure the pecuniary contribution. It alone would help him.

In the whole history of the career of the able French diplomat and general, there was no greater blot than the active aid he rendered in the spoilation of the truce of 1755. But for the invasion of Mysore by Salabat Jang aided by Bussy to exact the so called arrears of tribute attribute that was immoral in its levy, illegal in its exaction and inequitable in its incidence. Nanjaraja would not have been called off to Mysore, what he would have done at Tirichinapally by continuing thereafter the truce would not detain them for any length of time. For as it was, he had to leave the island of Srirangam, the revenues of which had been formally given up to him by Muhammad Ali, to the French, though they had unjustly included him in the truce they had concluded with the English without notice to him and as it seemed against his will, and undoubtedly in open violation of the terms of the treaty concluded with him and certainly against his country's interests, he had repudiated openly their right to do so and had declared he would carry on the war and Bussy's act was openly disruptive of the treaty the French had concluded with Mysore. They were indeed in strict alliance with Mysore while they were also bound by treaty with Salabat Jang as well. But it was not clear that Bussy was bound to break the treaty with Mysore to fulfill the treaty with Salabat Jang treating Mysore as his country's enemy for the

purpose. Bussy, indeed, felt considerably embarrassed in the matter and tried in the first instance to get the money from Mysore without declaring war. But when he found Devaraja, the brother of Nanjaraja, unyielding, he declared war and exacted the vast sum of Rs 55 lakh from him, ruining the country and those who stood security for Devaraja as well. If the conduct of the English was immoral to a degree, the conduct of the French was worse.

None was perhaps, more adversely affected by the truce between the English and the French than Nanjarajaiya, who continued to maintain friendly relations with M. Godeheu despite his first disagreement with M. Maissin (September). Early in October 1753, M. Maissin in compliance with Godeheu's orders were sent for a small detachment of French troops across the Coleroon on route to Pondicherry. Nanjarajaiya was helpless against an attack by the enemy- Murari Rao having left him- implored him (M.Maissin) to stay a month or fifteen days at least until he could fetch dhoties, palquins, carts, etc. from the city (Tirichinapally) to remove his family but we are told he refused and persisted in deporting where upon Nanjarajaiya resolved to assemble his wife and children in a house and blow it up with gun powder. The calamity, however was averted in Maissin having in the meanwhile received Godeheu's permission to remain with the Dalavoy. Nanjarajaiya was overjoyed at this, his hopes of Tirichinapally seemed to revive and he provided M. Maissin with money for his expenses, promising a lakh more in eight days and wrote to Godeheu assuring him of the payment of his arrears to the French Government. It was not however till about October 20 that Nanjarajaiya received intimation of Godeheu's truce with the latter's

instructions that he must not attack Muhammad Ali khan or their countries. Nanjarajaiya was deeply shocked that the truce had been concluded by Godeheu without his knowledge. Indeed he wrote to him pleading how he had hoped to settle his affairs with Muhammad Ali and the English for rupees 60 lakh by which he expected to find means to pay his debt to the French and return to his country and how the truce upset his calculations by enabling them (Muhammad Ali and the English) to strengthen themselves with forces and provisions and to devise other plans to beat him with on the expiry of the truce. About the end of October the position of Nanjarajaiya at Srirangam seemed insecure, he had only a small force at his disposal, Godeheu had recalled all the French troops except 300 military and 1000 foot with Maissin while Muhammad Ali and the English as Nanjarajaiya complained were gathering troops at the fort of Tirichinapally. Not long after on August 2, 1754-Dupleix super session by M. Godeheu came off and negotiations for a treaty of peace between the English and the French companies followed. A suspension of arms was proclaimed on the 11th Oct. 1754 and a conditional treaty was agreed to in January 1755.

The departure of Saunders and Dupleix finally put an end to the war while the arrival of M. Duval De Leyrit in succession of the hopes that Nanjaraja had built on French aid.

The advance of the Nizam and the Marathas on Mysore added to the troubles of Nanjaraja and he had to go back to his own country, his ambitions unrealized and his money and men wasted.

The French could not be excused. They did not keep to their promise. They in fact were both to take any action advantageous to their own aims and aspirations. They made their so called help the cause for extortionate demands on Nanjaraja. The demands were both unjust and immoral, especially in the light of the utter lack of sympathy they showed to Nanjaraja in the active prosecution of his claims.

If Tirichinapally sealed the fate of Nanjaraja and it also sealed the fate of Dupleix and the French nation in India.

From the above study we may draw a few conclusions. First, Madura and Tirichinapally were the focal points in the relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu in the 18th century. Madura had always been the object of conquest by the rulers of Mysore. It was nothing but the Southern political expansion of Mysore towards Tamil Nadu. Madura was the capital of the Nayaks during the Vijayanagaraa period. In the beginning of the 18th century, the Nayaka rule at Madras was declining and a power vacuum was created. To fill the political vacuum, powers of Tamil Nadu, the Deccan and Mysore became rivals. As a result of the conflicts, alliances emerged.

Secondly, Mysore under Karachuri Nanjarajaiah and Kalale Devarajiah had become a very significant power in South India. Madura was not only a Hindu power center, but also a holy place for the Hindus. It was the ambition of Nanjarajiah to conquer Madura for Mysore or to keep it under Hindu rule. When Meenakshi of Madura was overthrown, the Nawab of

Arcot became supreme at Madura. The situation resulted in the interference of Mysore in Madura in Tamil Nadu.

Thirdly, in the policy of Mysore towards Madura, we notice three different stages

1) Pro-Madura and anti-Nawab of Arcot policy
2) Pro- Maratha and anti-Nawab of Arcot policy
3) Pro-Nizam and anti-Maratha policy.

These three policies of Mysore continued up to 1743. The attempt of Mysore to keep Madura either under Nayaka rule or under Mysore did not succeed. The attempt of the Marathas to keep Madura under their control also failed. In 1743 Marathas were defeated and the Nizam placed Anwar-ud-din in control of Madura and Tirichinapally.

Fourthly, as fall out of the policy of Mysore towards Madura, Karachuri Nanjarajaiah had to face Maratha danger in Morosunadu which was the border of Mysore kingdom. Morosunadu was a strategic region in Kolar district. It was a corridor or meeting place of Mysore, Tamil Nadu and Andhra. The Maratha wanted to establish a military base in Morosunadu in order to control Tamil Nadu. Mysore formed an alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad in order to drive the Marathas from Morosunadu. In 1747, the famous battle Devanahalli was fought and Marathas were defeated.

Fifthly, after Madura-Tirichinapally became the focal point in Mysore-Tamil Nadu relations from 1744 onwards. Tirichinapally as the

Southern-most limit of expansion of the kingdom. Mysore had bases in Tamil Nadu like Dharanagar, Dindigal, Salem and Coimbatore. Nanjarajaiah used these bases for the conquest of Tirichinapally from 1751to 1755. Nanjarajaiah played a deciding role in the foreign politics of the period. Tirichinapally dominated his military and diplomatic policy during the second Carnatic war. Nanjarajiah's dream of annexing Tirichinapally to Mysore was a failure. It is said that "the Spanish ulcer ruined Napolean. In the same way, it may be said that Tirichinapally ulcer ruined Nanjarajiah". Crores of rupees of Mysore treasury disappeared in the adventure of Tirichinapally. The Tirichinapally adventure provided opportunity for the rise of Hyder Ali in Mysore and forced Nanjarajiah to quit politics.

Lastly, Muhammad Ali, Murari Rao, the English and the French cheated Nanjarajiya from keeping Tirichinapally for Mysore. All of them exploited Nanjarajiya. The English did not honour the provision of the secret treaty between Muhammad Ali and Nanjarajiah relating to Tirichinapally, because they argued that Tirichinapally overlordship belonged to the Mughals and the Nizam. Murari Rao exploited Nanjarajiah and in the end abandoned him. Murari Rao himself secretly wanted to keep Tirichinapally for himself. Dupleix also used Nanjarajiah against the English and abandoned him in 1754 when he was called back to France. His successor governor general Godeheu concluded the peace treaty with the English which was disastrous to Nanjarajiya. Thus Madura and Tirichinapally remained a dream for the policy makers of Mysore in the 18th century.

Notes and References

1. Letters-Telli (1734-1735) Letter dated 17 November 1735: H.V. Rao *Hist.,* II, pp. 73-74. Muddachari, *Resistance of Mysore to the Maratha Expansion,* pp. 30-31.
2. Letters from Fort St. George 1736, pp. 51-52; Letter No. 80 dated 6, November 1736.
3. Saundarakavya V. 13 VI 28, 36 VIII 96 ; Wilks, *Hist.,* I, pp. 146-14.
4. Letters to Fort St. George 1739: No. 14, *country correspondence* 1740; Letter No. 31 p. II ; Letter of 4 May 1740 Tuzak pp. 72-73.
5. *Country correspondence* Vol I, p. 16, No. 39.
6. *Annals I,* p. 176.
7. *Country correspondence* (1740) Letter No. 116.
8. Muddachari, *Resistance of Mysore to the Maratha Expansion,* p.39.
9. Despatches to England (1741-42) p.14.
10. *Ibid.,* (1743-1746) p.3. No. 56.
11. *Tuzak,* pp. 113- 114.
12. *Supra,* p. 113.
13. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.,* Vol. XXVIII, Letter No. 42.
14. *Ibid.,* Vol xxv, Letter No. 60.
15. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXV No. 55: Kak. Mah. p.15 Wilks, *Hist.*, I, p. 270
16. Hussian- Ali -khan Kirmani, *Nishani Hyderi* p. 23, Sheikh Ali B., *British Relations with Hyder Ali,* p. I.
17. The following is a sufficient summary of the history pertaining to Tirichinapally and the country dependent on it.

1559 Visvanatha Nayaka takes Tirichinapally

1609-1623- Virappa Nayaka I attaches Tirichinapally to Madura, and Tanjore king having exchanged it for Vullam.

1623-1659 Fortress of Tirichinapally becomes the chief stronghold of the Nayak's kingdom during Tiramala Nayak's time.

1734-Minakshi invites intervention of Dost Ali Nawab of Arcot in her dispute with Bangaru- Tirumala father of her adopted son.

1736 Chanda Sahib finally occupies the fort of Tirichinapally.

1741. Chanda Sahib attacked by the Marathas, Chanda Sahib taken prisoner and Murari occupies Tirichinapally till 1744.

1743-44 Nizam Ul Mulk invades Tirichinapally the Marathas vacate and Anwar- Ud- Din becomes Nawab of Arcot.

1748-49 The French ransom Chanda Sahib and with Muzaffar Jan attacked Anwar-Ud-Din and killed him at Ambur. Anwar-Ud-Din's son Muhammad Ali fled and occupied Tirichinapally.

1749-51 Chanda sahib declared Nawab of Arcot by the French.

18. *Di A.P.I.,* VIII. 1 Notes dated May 3, 1751. Wilks(1387) Speaks of the acquisition of Dindigal by Mysore in 1745, though we have so far no independent evidence on the point. The probabilities are in favour of the place that was absorbed into the kingdom of Mysore during the conclusions which followed the extinction of Nayak rule in Madura. (1736) Dindigal; As a strategical point of great natural strength commanding the passes between Madura and Coimbatore, its possession was always keenly contested between 1623 and 1659,

and it was the scene of many encounters between the Bijapur, Mysore and Madura troops. The Mysorean troops besieged it in1625 in Tirumala Nayak's reign in 1736 and Chanda Sahib stormed it. Taken by Mysore between 1736-1745, it was in 1755 garrisoned by Hyder and used as a base by him for annexing Madura and Coimbatore. As the gate to Coimbatore faces the South in Hyder's hands, it proved a great obstacle to the operations of the English at Tirichinapally and Madura.

19. Country correspondance (1751) p. 54 letter dated August 23, 1751- Saunders to King of Mysore.

20. *Haid. Nam.* Ff.5. see also and compare Fr. Corres (1752) p. 32 (correspondence dated February 18, 1752).

21. *Count, corress.* p.56 letter No 117 dated August 29, 1751. Nawab to Saunders.

22. *Ibid.,* p. 57. letter No 120 dated September 5, 1751- Saunders to king of Mysore.

23. *Ibid.,* letter no. 121 dated September 6, 1751- Nawab to Saunders.

24. *Ibid.,* p.58. letter No. 124 dated September 14, 1751- Saunders to Nawab.

25. *Ibid.,* p. 61 Letter No 129 dated September 24, 1751- Nawab to Saunders.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 65 letter No.140 dated October 20, 1751- Mysore Vakils to Saunders.

27. *Ibid.,* p. 66 letter no. 141 dated October 20, 1751- Dalavoy to Saunders.

28. *Ibid.,* p. 70 letter no. 152 dated November 1, 1751 Saunders to Dalavoy.

29. *Ibid.,* p. 62 letter no. 133 dated October 5, 1751, Nawab to Saunders pp. 63-64 letter No. 136 dated October 1751 and p. 69 letter no 150 dated November 1, 1751- Nawab to Saunders.

30. *Di.A.Pl.,* VIII, pp. 58-59, 67 Notes dated September 14 and October 11, 1751.

31. *Di.A.Pl.,* pp. 57-58 Notes dated September 14, 1751.

32. *Ibid.,* pp. 58-59.

33. *Ibid.,* in this connection a military advice. It is interesting to note that it refers to Hyder Naique as marching down this way (i.e South of Mysore) with 6000 men and 8 lakh rupees...(Di . cons BK(1755) p.117, July 17, 1755 Captain Caillaud to the board) the Di.A.Pl., (XI Notes dated July 6, 1757) speaks of Hyder as having been sent as Sardar (to the south i.e. Dindigal) with 5,000 horses 6,000 or 7,000 Sepoys and 25,000 or 30,000 men, etc.

34. *Di. A. Pl.,* III, Notes dated June 16, 1752.

35. *Fr. Corres.,* (1752) p. 80 letter No. 17 dated August 3, 1752.

36. The alleged supremacy of the Mughal since 1693 over the Nayak kingdom of Madura was only nominal. Chanda Sahib's occupation of Tirichinapally in 1736 was a result of the attempt made in 1734 on behalf of the Nawab of Arcot by his son Safdar Ali khan and his

nephew and confidential advisor Chanda Sahib. Queen Minakshi's quarrel with Bangaru- Tirumala the father of her adopted son gave the letter an opportunity to interfere while Bangaru Tirumala ruled over Madura and Tinnevelly. Chanda Sahib occupied Tirichirapally fort unmolested. But his occupation of the dependent country was so far effective.

37. Attempts had to be made to get possession of it. The revolt of Muhammad Yusuf in 1763 and what preceed is the best proof of the non-conquest of those areas. Till then they belonged to the Nawab of Arcot. In this connection, it is significant to note that Karachuri Nanjarajiah had maintained a regular journal of his transactions ever since he set out from Mysore (see count. Corres. (1753) p.30 ; Letter No. 49 dated February 27, 1753 Dalavoy to Capt. Dalton- unfortunately however this record has not come to light so far.

38. Orme Roberts, *A History of the Military transactions in Hindustani.* p.241.

39. *Ibid.,* p. 241.

40. *Ibid.,* p. 244.

41. *Di. A. Pl.,* VIII 129, 133 Notes dated July 7 and 10, 1752 the dispute between Nanjarajaiah and Muhammad Ali over the cession of Tirichinapally is found first refferred to in the Di cons Bk.(1752) p. 22. consultation dated June 29, 1752.

42. *Ibid.,* 166 Notes dated August 13, 1752.

43. *Haid. Nam.,* ff. 7 ; also *Di. A. Pl.* 133 Supra.

44. *Mad. Des.,* (1744-1755) pp. 172- 173, dispatch dated July 5, 1752.

45. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.,* Vol. xxviii letter No. 88 (1753).

46. *Haid. Nam.,* IC count, corres(1753) pp. 11-29 and 70 letter nos. 11, 48 and 120. cited infra, Cf. Di. Cons. BK. (c.c).

47. *Ibid.,* p. 246.

48. *Di. Cons. BK.,* p. 24 consultation dated July 13, 1752 also count corres (1753) p. 70 letter No. cited infra.

49. *Ibid.,* pp. 25-26 consultation dated January 13 and 20, 1752.

50. *Ibid.,* p.34 consultation dated August 24, 1752.

51. *Ibid.,* p. 27 consultation dated August 31 1752.

52. *Ibid.,* p. 58 consultation dated October 25, 1752.

53. *Ibid.,* pp. 32-33 consultation dated August 17, 1752.

54. *Ibid.,* p. 42 consultation dated September 18, 1752.

55. *Di. A. Pi.,* VIII 234-235, Notes dated October 7, 1752.

56. *Di. Cons. B.K.,* p. 66 Supra Cf Sel. Pesh. Daft. letter No 88 cited Supra.

57. See *Ante,* Ch. VIII pp. 171-172.

58. *Ibid.,* p. 172.

59. *Ibid.,* pp. 175-176.

60. See *Ante,* p.133 fin 2.

61. Fort St. George records mily. cons. (1753) consultation dt. 3rd Jan. 1753.

62. *Ibid.,* count corres (1753) Letter no 48.

63. *Di. Cons. BK.,* (1752) p. 22.

64. *Ibid.,* also Mad Desp (1744-1755) p. 173, despatch dated July 5, 1752.

65. *Di. Cons. BK.,* p. 27.

66. *Mad. Desp.,* pp.177-179.

67. *Count. Corres.,* (1753 p. 86, letter No. 138 Vakil Krishnoji Panth to Peshwa Balaji Rao).

68. *Ibid.,* pp. 2-3, 13-14 , 36-37 and 51 letter Nos. 5, 18, 62 and 90 dated January 6, 31 March 29 and May 3, 1753- Saunders to Dalavoy.

69. *Ibid.,* pp. 16, 24, and 34 letter Nos. 26, 41 and 58 dated February 12 March 4 and 23, 1753.

70. *Ibid.,* p. 35 letter No, 59 dated March 23, 1753.

71. *Count. Corres.,* p. 57 letter No. 98 dated May 17, 1753- Tanjore to Saunders; p.72 letter No. 120 dated June 11, 1753- Dalavoy to Saunders.

72. *Ibid.,* p. 78 letter No. 124 dated June 15, 1753- Saunders to Tanjore.

73. *Ibid.,* p. 78 letter No. 125 dated June 15, 1753- Saunders to Dalavoy.

74. *Di. A. Pl.,* pp. 129-130, 133-134 Notes dated July 7 and 10, 1752.

75. *Ibid.,* 136 Notes dated July 11, 1752.

76. *Di. Cons. Bk.,* (1752) pp. 32-33 consultation dated August 17, 1752.

77. *Di.A.Pl.,* pp.234-235 Notes dated October 7, 1752.

78. *Di. Consultation. BK.,* p.85, consultation dated October 28, 1752.

79. *Di.A.Pl.,* p. 309 Notes dated April 21, 1753.

80. *Count. corres.,* p. 96 letter No. 156 received July 24, 1753 Dalavoy to Saunders.

81. *Di. A. Pl.,* pp. 345-346 Notes dated May 28, 1753.

82. *Ibid.,* p. 353 Notes dated June 8, 1753.

83. *Ibid.,* pp. 355- 356 Notes dated June 22 , 1753 the French crops according to the Diarist was commanded by M. Austruc and M . Lavolonte Konapparangi.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN MYSORE AND TAMIL NADU

In the previous chapters an attempt has been made to study the political relations between Mysore and Tamil Nadu particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries. Political policy of the Wodeyars of Mysore and also the Dalavoy's resulted in the territorial expansion in to Tamil Nadu in the Southern and Eastern directions. Political relations resulted in economic relations Commerce and trade between the two regions followed the political expansion. Several regions of Tamil Nadu were annexed by the rulers of Mysore and the resources of that region flowed and enriched Mysore. Before briefly describing various aspects of this relation we have to note that the region controlled by the Wodeyars of Mysore had been under by the domination of the rulers of Tamil origin in various periods before the rule of the Wodeyars.

Traces of Pallava rule may be seen in Bangalore and Kolar district. Nolambas related to Pallava's ruled parts of Tumkur districts. Pallava and Nolamba inscriptions are seen to the East in Hoskote and Devanahalli taluks. Among the kings mentioned in them are Mahendra, Ayyappa Deva, Bira Nolamba and Iriva Nolamba. The last of these was attacked according to Hoskote 47, by the Chola king. From Hoskote III dated in 997 A.D. It is clear that the Chola king Rajarajadeva had superseded the Pallava's in the Northern portion of Bangalore district. It is perhaps the earliest Chola inscription in the State. Their principal rivals of Gangas of Talakad in the

East were the Pallava's of Kanchi who in general ruled over the tracts East of a line from about Gouribidanur, through Nandi to Avani and Hunkadu. The Gangaru thousand was an important province in that region. Of Vaidumbus occasional inscriptions are found in Chintamani and Bagepalli taluks. The Chola kings, Parantaka and Vira-Rajendra subdued the Vaidumba kings in the 10th and 11th centuries.

The Nolamabas or Nonanmbas who were of Pallava descent have left many memorials throughout the East of the District. They had a capital at Penjeru or Henjeru in Tamil called Peruncheru which Mr. Rice has identified with Hemavati situated on the Northern border of Sira taluk in Madaksira. Its name occurs in a number of professedly very ancient inscriptions (see E.C. III Mysore I. Introd. P.2.) as well as in certain legends and the existing remains show that it must have been a place of considerable importance. The Nolamba's had their stronghold at Nidugal which was only a few miles to the East in Pavagada taluk. In the 9th century they were in a matrimonial alliance with Gangas Nolambadhiraja having married Jayabbe, younger sister of the Ganga king Nitimarga. He also assigned to each of his other queens certain villages in the Sira country. His Son was Mahendra who is said to have uprooted the Cholas and all other rivals. Mahendra's son Ayyappa Deva or Nanniga seems to have fought with the Gangas. He had two sons the second of whom Dilipa or Iravi Nolamba had two inscriptions to his credit dated in 943 and 948 A.D. The latter of those mentions Lakulisa as having reborn in the person of Muninatha Chiluka in whose favour a grant was made. Chalukya supremacy followed in or about 980 A.D. but it was

largely normal during much of the period. The Nonamba raiyats who were more numerous in that district than anywhere else were representatives of the subjects of the old Nonamba kingdom, the Nonambavadi thirty. Two thousand of which further account would be found under Chitradurga district. But in about 1004 a formidable invasion by the Cholas took place under the command of Rajendra Chola son of the reigning king Raja Raja. They succeeded in capturing Talkad and overthrew the Ganga power which had ruled over for nearly a thousand years. Giving to Talkad the name Raja Raja Pura, the Chola's speedily possessed themselves of all country in Mysore South of the Cauvery together with that East from Srirangapattana along with the Bangalore and Kolar districts. In accordance with their usual policy they imposed their own names on the conquered provinces and the South of the Mysore district and became the Mudikonda Cholamandala the part in which Talkad was situated being called the Rajendra Cholavanad. Towards the West partly in Mysore and partly in Coorg they subdued the Changalva kings of Nanjarayapatna and Piriyapattana who were called Kulot-Tunga Chola-Changalva.

The traces of the Chola conquest in the eleventh century were numerous in the Western taluks and their inscriptions were found especially in the vicinity of the Ganga city of Makunda namely at Malur, Kadalur and Malurpatna the latter indeed receiving the name of Nikarili Cholapura. Rajendra Chola son of Rajarajadeva effected the conquest of the South and East of Mysore by about 1004 A.D. He captured Talakad, the Ganga capital and brought the Ganga power to an end. There are inscriptions of his region

and of his successors down to Kuluttunga Chola II (Anekal 74 dated about 1200 A.D.). Magadi is said to have been founded by a Chola king and names and inscriptions testify to their influence from there to Nelamangala. In this latter taluk they made a boast of their conquest of Manni-Katakam said to be the name above mentioned. The part of the country seemed to have been named by them the Vikrama Cholamandala. Chola-Ganga described as the great King of Orissa was said in an inscription of the twelfth century to have been born in the Hejjagi twelve of the Kadanur seventy (Doddaballapur taluk) to the East we have Chola inscriptions in Hoskote taluk which it was included in the Kolar country designated the Nikarili Chola-mandala.

There is a traditional account of the foundation of Kolar to the following effect. A herdsman named Kola discovered a hidden treasure which the king Uttama Chola hearing sent for him to Kanchi the capital and being warned in a vision by Renuka in the form of *Kolahalamma*, erected a temple in her honour founded the city of *Kolahala* and invested Kola with the government. The name is with equal probability derived from *Kolahala* or Kolas plough the implement which turned up the treasure. It might the hoblis of Yerkalve, Mulbagal, Murgamale and Betamangala were annexed to the new settlement in the enjoyment of which Kola and his descendents continued under the Chola dynasty of that time Vira-Chola Vikrama Chola and Rajanarendra Chola were stated to have erected *shasanas* at Sitibetta, Avani, Mulbagal and other places in the vicinity.

This tradition is evidently based on some confused reminiscence of certain names and historical events. From the records of the period we know that the Cholas first under Raja Raja and under Rajendra Chola subverted the power of the Gangas by the capture of Talakad in about 1004 and speedily possessed themselves of all the South and East of Mysore. The important city of Kolahala or Kolar thus became subject to them, together with whole of the present Kolar district. In accordance with their usual system they gave the name of Nikarili Chola-mandala to the district and formed it in to sub-divisions of which Jayamkanda Cholavalanad was towards the South. At a latter period we find a family of Chola-Gangas ruling over the parts around Kolar of whom in the thirteenth century, we have the names of Uttama-Chola-Ganga, and others. From the above it is clear that pre-Wodeyar period Tamil ruler had controlled parts of the region subsequently ruled by the Wodeyars of Mysore. But in the 17th and 18th centuries the rulers of Mysore controlled parts of Tamil Nadu. We see the political and economic relations continued to exist between the two regions. We may briefly describe trade and other economic links between Mysore and Tamil Nadu in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The land-locked position of Mysore, the mountains barriers which separated it from the surrounding countries on three sides and the want of navigable rivers were factors that were likely to exercise an unfavourable influence on the external trade of the state all times. For many centuries the difficulties of transport considerably restrict the growth of trade. There were not many highways and the cart tracks were impossible during the monsoon

months. The absence of any settled government for long periods rendered it possible for bands of highway robbers to carry on their predatory practices with impunity. The great variations in the standard of currency and weight and measures even in neighboring districts and the existence of numerous customs station involved undue delay in the concluding of bargains and the transport of goods.

As Mysore had no port of her own her commodities for the overseas market were carried to Tamil Nadu, Bombay and Mormugoa by road for being shipped abroad from those places. There is no agency for the collection of statistics of the road-borne trade between Mysore and the adjoining places in British India. It was only during 1918-19 that an attempt was made to register the external trade by land through the agency of Ookadas or outpost established on the principal highway leading outside the state. These Ookadas numbering eight in all were primarily interested in preventing the unauthorized export of food grains from the state. With the removal of restrictions on these exports the registration of trade passing through the frontier roads came automatically to an end.

The trade of Mysore metalled roads had been carried by the primitive country carts. In many parts of Mysore where even cart tracks did not exist pack animals were employed for transport purposes. Owing to the difficulties of communication, trade was restricted to articles of comparatively high value and small bulk for which there was an undoubted demand from the richer classes. The Wodeyars encouraged the cultivation and manufacture

of various articles of commerce by the supply of seeds and the advance of preliminary expenses. Manufacture of opium was under the control of Government. Foreign merchants used to be invited to settle in the country. They were thus importing valuable goods from distant countries and sending abroad products of this country.

During the period of our study there were no metalled roads and a uniform system of currency and weights and measures. Trade in rural areas was the local charter. It was continued to few articles in the production of which Mysore had natural facilities such as sandalwood, food grains, areca nut, cotton and its fabrics. The trade was carried on by small journeymen used to frequent the neighbouring weekly markets and the annual Jatras in the adjacent districts. The goods were carried in the country carts and on pack animals or by head-loads as is being done even in large weekly markets. One kind of grain used to be exchanged for another. The people in the country as a whole estimated their wealth not so much in cash or jewels as in grain and cattle. When there was a famine or a dearth of foodstuffs the surplus grain especially *ragi* stored in the previous good years was made use of and the pernicious effects of a temporary scarcity of corn were easily averted.

The season of *Jatras* and festivals coincided with the time of rest when there was no work to be done on the fields. Rural people would seize the opportunities to bring those things which could not be had in ordinary fairs. Business combined with pilgrimage to holy shrines or annual festivities

resulted in the promotion of considerable trade on such occasions. Some of the places which have been famous on account of a large volume of trade effected during *Jatras* are Chunchankatte, Ghati-Subramanya, Sravana Belgola, Melkote, Sulekere, Naikanahatti, Sibi, Nandi, etc. At Chunchankatte a cattle fair is annually held and the total number of cattle exhibited range from 5000 to 10000 most of would be sold. Sravana Belgola a Jain center specialized itself in the manufacture of brass and copper vessels of good quality the weekly fairs held at the taluk headquarter station and other large important village also afforded facilities for small traders and traveling peddlers hawking cheap imported goods to do business with the rural population. Some of these weekly fairs at Tiptur, Arasikere etc used to attract a large number of people for purposes of trade.

The major portion of the trade as described above was handled by one or the other of chief commercial castes Lingayats, Banajigas, Nagrthas, Vaisyas, etc are a few of the chief castes whose main profession is trade and trade was often combined with agriculture or industries. The farmers in rural areas were often traders in grain on a small scale. As caste distinctions are no longer rigid and trade was ceased to be local in character, it is not necessary to mention all the, castes and sub- castes to which individual traders of the present day belong. Mention may however be made of the foreign merchants who have been coming into the state in large numbers during recent years as the Marwaris, Multanis Labbes, Nattu Kottai Chetties, Mudaliars etc.

The trade in the interior parts of Mysore suffered under a large number of middlemen who took away the major portion of the profits that should legitimately go to producers. In the early days they were the chief money lenders and dealers in grain from the *raiyats* in small quantities during the harvest season and store it for sometime and sell the same when prices had gone up. It was not worth the value of the small farmer to take his produce to large markets at a distance.

For want of adequate banking facilities the chief agricultural crops of the Mysore were being moved with the aid of funds obtained from Tamil Nadu. A certain quantity of the local capital was also employed but its volume is limited of the two leading money markets in the South India, Bombay and Tamil Nadu the major portion of the funds was obtained from Bombay owing to the fact that money could be had there at cheaper rates. There were 161 *Kattes* or Tolls stations scattered all over Mysore and all goods passing through them were subjected to the payment of duties and they were divided into three classes, namely

1. Sthladayam i.e. duties on articles imported for consumption in a place.
2. Margadayam i.e. duties on gold in transit and
3. Mamooladayam i.e duties on goods exported to foreign countries.

Great was the confusion caused by the variations in rate of duties levied from station to station. The farmers to whom the Government had rented the *Kattes* were usually unscrupulous. The grant to certain individuals of privileges of entire or partial exemption from the payment of these

harassing duties added to the existing confusion, every trader had to submit to the necessity of purchasing the goodwill of the servants to avoid detention of his goods and the consequent loss of time and money.

Agriculture was the main occupation of the people and the success of agriculture depended on the seasonal rainfall the volume of foreign trade in any particular year was governed by the seasonal condition prevailing in the previous year. The growth of trade had tended towards particular localities specializing in the production of the more paying commercial crops, chiefly in oil-seeds, cotton, tobacco, sugar cane, fruits and vegetables. Consequently the area under food grains had shown a tendency to contract. The chief articles that figured prominently in the export trade were raw cotton, oil seeds (including copra and coca-nuts) hides and skins (raw as well as lightly tanned) raw silk, areca nut, jaggerey, oil cakes and timber. As most of these were raw materials fetching comparatively low prices the people sustained a great economic loss which might have been avoided if the raw materials had been used within the state.

Danayakanakote : Danayakana Kote was South-Eastern limit of the kingdom of Mysore under Raja Wodeyar. It was an important link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu for the purpose of conducting trade. Raja Wodeyar I had assigned the Danayakana Kote to Immadi Raja Wodeyar. It was a such an important territory that it became the bone of contention between Mysore and Madura during the region of Chamaraja V.[1] Danayankana Kote was ruled by a Palegar and it was located below the ghats. The Palegars of

Danayakana Kote controlled the chiefs of the surrounding places Western Danayankana Kote was the Southern limit of the kingdom of Mysore in the early 17th century. It was almost with the territory of the Nayak of Madura. As we have stated above Western Danayakana Kote had been assigned by Raja Wodeyar to Immadi Raja Wodeyar as a *umbali* or rent free estate. Danayakana Kote had only political significance. It was therefore in the fitness of things for Mysore to advance and take possession of Danayakana Kote and other places in its neighbourhood below the ghats. Bettada Arasu Dalavoy of Mysore besieged Danayakana Kote.[2] This place was so important that the Palegar of the place sought the help of the Matauvirappa Nayaka the I the Nayaka of Madura. What is interesting is that a Tamil Nadu merchant Chikappa Shetty concluded the truce between Mysore and the Palegar of Danayankana Kote. The Palegar agreed to pay an annual tribute of 12000 varahas to Mysore. In this way Danayakana Kote became the trade link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu. It continued to be the Southern frontier of Mysore under Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar.[3]

Important places which connected trade routes with Tamil Nadu Marathahalli, Samballi, Sankhagiri, Tirchengodu, Taramangalam, Vamalur and Avanasi were important between Mysore and Tamil Nadu in the 17th century. Dindigal, Erode, Salem and Coimbatore were other centers of trade between Mysore and Tamil Nadu between the 17th and 18th centuries. During the Dalavoy period under Kalale Nanjarajiah Tanjore Madura and Tirichinapally had trade relations with Mysore.[4]

Coins : Kantirava Narsaraja Wodeyar established a mint (Tankasale) in Srirangapattana. He reorganized currency and coinage in Mysore which helped trade not only in Mysore but also with Tamil Nadu. The tendencies underlying the measure were of a political, administrative and religious character. Firstly by 1645 Kantirava was as we have seen sufficiently well established on the throne of Mysore having successfully beaten off the Bijapur invasion and counteracted the aggressions of Tirumala Nayaka of Madura and was aiming at independence from a local point of view. Secondly, the coins issued by the Palegars did not have a uniform seal. It create a confusion. And lastly, Kantirava's predilection for Vaishnavisam perhaps most significantly echoed in a lithic record of his was also at work. The first coins were accordingly struck in Kantirava's name on the 26 April 1645. They are gold coins variously known as Kanthiraya hana Kantirava Raya and Kanthirava Raya-Ravi and are impressed with the figure of God Lakshimi Narasimha on the obverse and some dots on the reverse. There was the *Kanthirayavaraha* not only were the coins issued but their circulation all over the country was also provided for 10 hanams being equivalent to one *Kanthirayavaraha* and the weight of nine hanams being equivalent to the weight of one *varaha* (Kanthirayi) the two denominations being ordered to be used in connection with the account and cash transactions respectively of the State. Kanthirava appears to have issued a series of copper coins also known as *Ane kasu* to serve the purposes of a token currency.

About the same time Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar also struck a new type of gold coins (varaha) known as Tandava Krishna Murthy. Devaraja though only an administrative event this was a landmark of considerable significance particularly from the political and religious points of view. Politically it was already indicated an index of his achievement over Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura in 1673.

No less important as an act was an irrigation scheme launched out by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar between (1700-1701). Damming the Cauvery to the West of Srirangapattana we are told, he had canals excavated from both sides of the river. The Northern canal being led on to a considerable distance by way of the Karighatta hill and named after himself as Chikkadevaraja Sagara and the Southern canal to the South of Srirangapattana being designated as *naala*.

In a Jesuit letter dated in 1701[5], we have an interesting contemporary account of the beginnings of this project. During 1700-1701 according to the source[6] the river (Cauvery or the Coleroon) continued to be so dry that the inhabitants Madura and Tanjore dreaded a general famine. Nevertheless continues the latter[7] the rains had fallen in the usual season and the waters rush from the mountains would have entered the Coloran (coleroon) sooner than ordinary had not the king of maisoor (Mysore) stopped their course by a prodigious mole raised and which extended the whole breadth of the canal. That design was to turn off the waters by the bank in order that these flowing into the canals dug by him might refresh his lands fruitful and thereby

increase his revenues he was owing to ruin the two neighbouring kingdoms those of Madura and Tanjoor (Tanjore). The waters would not have begun to raise therefore the end of July and the canal would have been dry by the middle of September. The two Princes zealous for the welfare of their respective kingdoms were exasperated at this attempt upon which they united against the common enemy in order to oblige him by force of arms to destroy a mole which did them such vast prejudice. They were making great preparations for this purpose. When the river Coloran (coleroon) revenged (as was the phrase) the affront which had been put upon its waters, by captivating them in the manner the Prince in question had done. During the time the rains descended but moderately on the mountains the mole stood and the waters flowed gently into the canals dug for that purpose but the instant they feel abundantly the river swelled to such a degree that it broke the mole and dragged it impetuously along. In this manner the prince of maisoor (Mysore) after putting himself to a great expense was frustrated in an instant of the immense riches which he had hoped to gain. Although the scheme of an embankment on the Cauvery, originated by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the very beginning of the eighteenth century, proved to be a failure owing to freaks of nature.[8]

We may now provide a few tables which give some idea of exports. These tables are based on evidence gathered from various sources.

Shimoga District

Exports[9]

Article		Chief place of Exports
1)	Ragi	Vellore
2)	Tuvar (Togari)	Vellore
3)	Sesamum (superior)	Vellore and Salem
4)	Hides	Madras Tamil Nadu

Imports[10]

Articles		Chiefs place of imports
1)	Iron	Madras Tamil Nadu
2)	Tuvar	Tirupattur

Hassan District[11]

Articles		Chiefs place of imports
1)	Gold	Madras Tamil Nadu
2)	Ghee	Dharapura
3)	Fine cloth	Kanjeevaram

Bangalore District

Exports[12]

Article		Chief place of Exports
1)	Ragi candies	Madras Tamil Nadu
2)	Hides	Madras Tamil Nadu
3)	Castor (Seeds)	Madras Tamil Nadu
4)	Til superior	Madras Tamil Nadu

5)	Til inferior	Madras Tamil Nadu
6)	Silk	Salem and Kumbakonam.

Imports[13]

Article		*Chief place of Exports*
1)	Boiled Rice	Madras Tamil Nadu
2)	Black gram	Madras Tamil Nadu
3)	Tuvar Dhal	Tirupattur Krishnagiri
4)	Tuvar	Krishnagiri
5)	Poppy seeds	Madras Tamil Nadu
6)	Gingelly seeds	Madras Tamil Nadu
7)	Yarn	Madras Tamil Nadu
8)	Coconut oil	Vellore
9)	Groundnut oil	Salem
10)	Silk cloth	Kumbakonam and Salem.

Tumkur District

Export[14]

Article		*Chief place of Exports*
1)	Rice	Madras Tamil Nadu
2)	Ragi	Madras Tamil Nadu
3)	Horsegram	Madras Tamil Nadu
4)	Jaggery	Madras Tamil Nadu
5)	Tamarind	Madras Tamil Nadu
6)	Areca	Madras Tamil Nadu
7)	Skin	Madras Tamil Nadu

8)	Cocoa-nuts	Salem
9)	Tanning bark	Madras Tamil Nadu
10)	Til seeds	Dindigul and Kumbakonam
11)	Rice	Coimbatore
12)	Silk	Salem
13)	Cloth	Madras, Bhavani, Salem, Madura, Dindigal
14)	Gunny bags and cloth	Madras Tamil Nadu

Kolar District

Exports[15]

Article		*Chief place of Exports*
1)	Hides	Tamil Nadu
2)	Jaggery	Tamil Nadu
3)	Ragi	Tamil Nadu
4)	Sugar	Tamil Nadu
5)	Tamarind	Tamil Nadu
6)	Togari Dal	Tamil Nadu

Imports[16]

1)	Hides	Tamil Nadu
2)	Iron	Tamil Nadu
3)	Coconut oil	Tamil Nadu
4)	Gingelly oil	Tamil Nadu
5)	Castor oil	Tamil Nadu

6)	Pepper	Tamil Nadu
7)	Piece goods	Tamil Nadu
8)	Poppy seeds	Tamil Nadu
9)	Rice	Tamil Nadu
10)	Paddy	Tamil Nadu
11)	Silk cloth	Tamil Nadu
12)	Sugar	Tamil Nadu
13)	Tamarind	Tamil Nadu
14)	Tabacco	Tamil Nadu
15)	Thogari dhal	Tamil Nadu
16)	Wheat	Tamil Nadu

From the above study, we may draw a few general conclusions. First a region controlled by the Wodeyar of Mysore was in continuous contact with Tamil powers in pre-Wodeyar period. In the pre-Wodeyar period Tamil Nadu powers drew the resources from the present day Mysore Chamarajanagar, Mandya, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur districts. But in the Wodeyar period the rulers of Karnataka region drew resources from part of Tamil Nadu in South and the East[17].

Secondly, political relations of Mysore with Tamil Nadu in the 17th and 18th centuries led to economic relations, merchants followed the conquerors. The Wodeyars of Mysore had two types of income from Tamil Nadu 1) War booty. 2) Tribute paid by Palegars of Tamil Nadu regions to the Wodeyars of

Mysore. 3) Import and exports duties levied by the Mysore government on the movement of goods between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.[18]

Thirdly, Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar issued coins which facilitated the growth of trade between two regions. The coins of Mysore were circulated in different parts of Tamil Nadu. It is interesting to know that the gold coin issued by Kalale Nanjaraja is preserved in the Tanjore museum under the control of Tamil University. This indicates that his coins were also used in Tamil regions. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar also introduced reforms in weights and measures and this helped trade and commerce between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.[19]

Fourthly, it may be pointed out that in the 17th and 18th centuries there were no modern means of communications. Trade and commerce depended on human and animal powers. Carts were used wherever possible. The Mysore kingdom was surrounded by mountains which separated the kingdom from Tamil regions. But they did not prevent economic relations between the two regions.[20]

Fifthly, the interesting episode related to the construction of dam by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar indicated an aspect of economic relations between two regions.[21]

Lastly, we may point out that Erode, Dindigal, Coimbatore, Salem, Madura, Dharamapuri and Tirichinapally as well Arcot in the East were important centers of economic relations with Mysore. Likewise, Gundlupet,

Terakanambi, Kollegala, Channapatna, Kanakapura, Anekal, Hoskote and Hosur were important points of economic contact with Tamil Nadu on the side of Karnataka region. The purchase of Bangalore by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar from the Mughals was an important landmark in the economic relations between the two regions. Devanahalli was also a famous link in this trade route. So the economic relations which followed the political conquest increased the wealth of Wodeyars of Mysore in the 17th and 18th centuries. Hyder Ali's economic prosperity was due to his political position he enjoyed in Tamil regions under Dalavoy Nanjaraja of Mysore. But the tragedy was the wealth so accumulated by Mysore was ultimately lost in the Tirichinapally adventure as well as by making payments to the Marathas, Sultans of Bijapur as well as European powers.[22]

Notes and References

1. Hayavadana Rao, *History of Mysore,* Vol. I, pp. 67-76.
2. *Mys. Dho. Vam.,* p. 22, *Annals, Mysore Royal Family,* pp. 53-54.
3. Hayavadana Rao, *History of Mysore,* Vol. I, pp. 128, 148, 156, 207.
4. *Ibid.,* pp. 140-142.
5. See *Nayaks of Madura,* pp. 315-322.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 331.
7. *Ibid.,* pp. 211-212.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 212.
9. Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazeteer,* p. 1254.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

17. Nayakwadi Y.H., *Chalukya-Chola Relations*, An Unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation submitted to the Gulbarga University, Gulbarga, 1991, pp. 192-195.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-199.

19. Nayakwadi Y.H., *Nayankara Systems under Vijayanagaraa Empire,* An Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Gulbarga University in 1997. pp. 187-188.

20. *Ibid.*, pp.188-189.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195.

CHAPTER VI

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN MYSORE AND TAMIL NADU

In the previous chapters we concentrated on the study of political relations of Mysore with Tamil Nadu. Political relations between the two regions led to cultural relations. People of Tamil origin migrated to Mysore kingdom, Mysoreans went to the parts of Tamil Nadu. We see a process of cultural exchange and impact. Tamil Srivaishnavism had an impact on Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar as a social reformer and it was examined in the chapter. In addition to this Parakala Mata of Tamil Sri Vaishnavisnava Brahmins entered the kingdom of Mysore during the period of our study. The Mata acted as a cultural link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu. Melukote, Srirangapattna, Tondanur, were other Srivaishnava centers in the kingdom which acted as a cultural links between the two. Some religious grants of Wodeyars of Mysore belonging to the period of our study have been discovered in Tamil Nadu. They are examined in this chapter. During the period of our study Brahmin scholars of Tamil origin wrote works in Kannada relating to some important holy places in Tamil Nadu. It has also been examined in this chapter.

We may briefly note the impact of Tamil Srivaishnavism of Ramanuja on the social life of Mysore during the region of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. On the basis of Tamil Sri Vaishnava tradition, he made on attempt to reform and uplift the Shudras of Mysore and also classifying the Arasu families. He defined and codified the acts and practices of shudras as members of Hindu

social order. A marked influence of Tamil Srivaishnavism of Ramanuja on social life during the period is descerinible in an attempt on the part of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to reform and uplift the shudras by defining and codifying there rights and Practices as members of the Hindu social order. The attempt of his finds expression in the *Sachchudrachara Nirnaya* (1687-1690) ascribed to him. In leveling up as far as possible the distinctions between castes and according to the shudras a legitimate place in the social structure. Chikka Devaraya perhaps sounds the keynote of his success as a benevolent and strict ruler of the age.

The work *Sachchudrachara-Nirnaya* is primarily an exposition of the duties of those who can call themselves good Sudras (Satsudras). The term "good" as applied to a "sudra" connotes much the same idea as it does when applied to a "Brahmana.", "Kshatriya" as Vaisya. That is one who conforms to the course of conduct prescribed to his varna. In that sense, one who has gone through the rites and ceremonies customary to the class should be followed.

The reason that induced Chikkadevaraja to write this work (Sachchudrachara- Nirnaya) on the Gita ideal of essential dependence was upon god of all classes of the community. It was their happiness and salvation, and mutual dependence on each other for their own and fear the common good. He desired to secure social solidarity by this means, in order that political solidarity may not be jeopardized. In that he should insist on the upper three divisions discharging their duty towards the fourth and that of the

fourth towards the upper three would indicate the need for securing social order and consequently the general happiness was an end in itself. Fearing that the three other classes may discard the happiness of the fourth while the fourth may discard its duty towards the other three classes and desiring the happiness of the fourth, Chikkadeva says he wrote this work. To achieve this end he adds, he brought together in order to protect the good among the fourth class, their duties as found scattered in the different authority. The work accordingly fixes the duties of the Shudras while it takes the opportunity to favour their interests from the three others.[1]

We have an example of the interaction of the tendencies and the forces of the times. Chikkadeva's social experiment acquires considerable significance. Indeed while there are indications of the widespread application and adoption of his code, the Sri Vaishnava background. Some of the families, who were directly related to the Royal house had shown a tendency to give up the due performance of rites ceremonies originally prescribed for them and had contracted alliances with families considered as belonging to a lower status. (Gaudapattu Sambandha) while others had cultivated relations with families of inferior social standing (Badayati Sambandha) realizing the need for preserving undefined the social status of these families and their purity of blood, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar on October 2, 1690 inquired into the matter.[2] As a result of the enquiry the doubtful families were differentiated from those who showed evidence of having maintained the purity of the blood so far the farmers were absorbed in the respective lineages with which they had contracted their relations. While the latter was

grouped into 31 families (Manetana), 13 among them being recognized as often exceptionally pure stock and the remaining 18 as of a slightly lower status in consequences of certain differences in the usages and practices observed by them.[3] Marital relations from amongst their families were laid down as endogamous in character. An exception was made in the case in the members of 13 families who are allowed to receive as wives' daughters from the 18 families only in the respect of second or third connections. To look after the successful working of these arrangements to supervise the general social relations with the 31 families and to see that they regularly observed the vedic rites and practices laid for them, Somarajiah of Mugur father in-law of Chikkadeveraja and Appajiah the palace genealogist were appointed as special Huzar officers (Sammukhada Gurikar Sammukhada Karanika) an order to this effect being communicated to the 31 families summoned to the court.

Parakala Mata is a cultural link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu during the period of our study. Parakal Mata exists in Mysore city near Mysore palace. It was a Tamil Srivaishnava Mata. It followed the tradition of Ramanujacharya who was a great Srivaishnava philosopher and social reformer in the 12 century A.D. Ramanujacharya had visited Mysore region under the Hoysala's of Dwarasamudra. Vishnuvardhana the greatest ruler of the Hoyasala dynasty was the disciple of Ramanujacharya. Melukote and Tondanur emerged as Tamil Srivaishnava Brahmin centers under the leadership of Ramanujacharya.

Vedantadeshika was another great Tamil Srivaishnava teacher in the line of gurus from Ramanujacharya. Bhramatantra Swatantra Jeeyar established Parakala Mata in Kanchi in 1360 A.D.[4] In 1379 the Mata was shifted to Tirupati and afterwards to Srirangapattana and it was patronized by the Wodeyars of Mysore. Vedanthadesika from Melukote carried on the work which had been started there two and half centuries ago by his predecessor in the spiritual hierarchy. Ramanuja stayed for a long time before he returned to Kancheepuram and Srirangam. After 600 years, it was continued without interruption under the Wodeyars of Mysore Brahmatantra Swatantra Parakala Swamis of Mysore the Rajagurus of the first Brahmatantra Swatantra Jeeyar the immediate successor of Sri Vedanta Desika in the spiritual pedigree of Sri Ramanuja (as for the Vadagle Acharyas are concerned and founder of the sri Brahmatantra Mata).

Unbroken tradition has it that Ramanuja got the gift of Sri Lakshmi Hayaghriva's image worshipped in the Brahmatantra Parakala Mata of Mysore, directly from Sri Saraswathi in recognition of the expounding of the Vishisitadvaita system of philosophy before the assemblage of pandits of Kashmir Saraswathi Peetham about the beginning of the twelfth century during the visit to that country even as Sankaracharya of Sharada herself three centuries earlier. From Ramanuja the image of Sri Hayagriva and with it the spiritual succession passed on to Tirukkurukkaippiran Pilian. From Sri Pundarikaksha a scion of that distinguished saint, who also had become the Rajaguru to the Vijayanagara emperor. The image with all attendent imperial

parphernalia passed on to Sri Veddanta Desikar and from him to Sri Periya Brahmatantra Swatantra Jeeyar at Kancheepuram.

To continue the work which had been entrusted to him by Srivedantha Desika and lord Sri Venkatesha Sri BrahmatantraSwatantra appointed as his successor in the gadi Sri Perarulaliyan (formerly a most distinguished exponent of the Advaitha system hailing from the North, whom after a disputation lasting seven days in Kanjeevaram he succeeded in overcoming and whom at his own request and at the command of Sri Venkatesha deity he converted to the Vishista Dvaita creed) Perarululiyam (that is Varadaraja) had become Sri Vathsya Vedantha Ramanuja swami or Dvithiya BrahmintantraSwatantra Jeeyar.[5]

Another work of great importance accomplished by BramhatantraSwatantra jeeyar was the organization and equipment of a Pustakabhandaragaram in the Mata which he had founded in Kanjeevaram in 1360 A.D. The great library naturally came to contain within it several hundreds of books which his successor and former disciple before conversion had brought with him. It must be presumed that hundreds of disciples by whom the distinguished scholar from the North was accompanied became his disciples too.

Orthodox Sri Vaishnavas are enjoined to regulate their lives so as to conform to what has been described as the 'Panchakala Patha' sannyasins free from every other concern were naturally able to tread this path. In

consonance with the spirit of the rule they were bound to do everything possible.

1. To help their disciples to redeem themselves by receiving the Panchasamskaram or Samasharayanam.
2. The expounding of Sri Bhasya, Sreemath Rahasyatrayasara, Sri Bhagavadvishayam, Sri Bhagavad Geeta, Upanishads and allied works on the Siddhanta.
3. The production of further works calculated to expand the intricacies in and simplfy the earlier voluminous works on the same.
4. The delivering of lectures on the Ithihasas and the puranas.
5. And more than anything else helping the seeker after salvation to offer Sharanagati or Bhranyasan or Prapatti to God.
6. Making journeys to sacred places and to the Rajasthanams if invited for the performance of what may be called the Dharma Digvijayam, whenever possible.

The royal patronage came to be accorded to such distinguished swamis during the epoch of the Vijayanagara emperors if the sovereigns who founded the first Vijayanagara dynasty granted such patronage to Acharyas like Sri Vidyaranya whose successors became their family gurus, later Vijayanagara sovereigns extended such patronage not only to their own family gurus (Grihasthas) the Tatacharyas they ungrudgingly showered the same on Matadipathies of other sects also. They showed similar favour to the Portuguese and to the Muslims. This spirit of tolerance has always been the characteristic feature of the Hindu faith.

Expanding the works written by sri Alavandar (Yamunacharya), sri Bhasyakarar, Sri Sudarsana Bhattar and Vedanta Desika itself was just enough to keep the swamis of the Brahmatantra Mata fully engaged during the pretty long lives which most of them lived. From the first Brahmatantra Swatatantra Jeeyar, the founder, up to Sri Jnanabdhi Brahmatantra Swatantra Swami there were fifteen occupants of the seat of Brahmatantra (1360- 1600) a period of two and half centuries.

Sri Jananabdhi Brahmatantra Swatantra Swami : Sri Jnanabdhi Brahmatantra Swatantra Swami is credited to have made a most important addition to the library of Srivaishanava philosophical literature through his disciple, Sri Ranga Ramanuja Swami who at the instance of his Acharya wrote the following works among others.

1. Bhava Prakasika.
2. Dashopanisad Bhasyam.
3. Vishaya Vakya Deepika.
4. Ramanuja Siddantha Sara Sangraham

Another disciple of this Swami a Grihasta Acharya Vathsya Ahobalacharya swami also wrote explanatory works relating to Sri Bhagavad vishayam. It was this Sri Jnanabdni Brahmatantra Swatantra Parakala Swami who administered the sacraments to the great Sri Raja Wodeyar of Mysore, who secured the independent existence of his realm from the suzerainty of Vijayanagara emperors.[6]

The twelfth king Sri Maharaja Ranadheera Kantheerava Narasimha Raja Wodeyar (1639-1660) is stated to have received the Sri Vaishnava Deeksha at the hands of Sri Varada Vedanta Swami the seventeenth in succession from the first Brahmatantra Swatantra Jeeyar. Sri Maharaja Sri Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704) is stated to have commanded that the entire Ursu community should receive Chakramkita and observe Sri Vaishnava ceremonials.

Sri Periya Parakala Swami : With the advent to headship of the mata of Sri Periya Parakala Swami the twenty first in succession from the first Brahmatantra Swatantra Jeeyar an important change came over the destiny of the mata Sri Dodda KrishnaraJa Wodeyar of Mysore was successful in securing mata in Srirangapattna (the capital of Mysore till 1799) from Tirupathi. The reason was the perfect security which prevailed in the Mysore country earned for it by wisdom and power of Sri Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704) the illustrious ancestor of Sri Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar (1714-1731). It might be that the unsettled conditions due to the Mughal-Maratha conflicts in the Deccan prompted Sri Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar to persuade the Swami to remove definitely to Mysore once for all from Tirumala Thirupathi Swamis appointed by the heads of the Mata in Mysore, however continued to remain in the Mata at Thirupathi hill to conduct the pooja of Sri Hayagriva and Sri Nigamantha Maha Desika installed there by the first Brahmatantra Swatantra and to minister to the wants of the piligrims during their stay on the hill (Later on this practice of appointing an agent swami was given up). It is no exaggeration to say that Sri Periya

Brahmatantra Swatantra Parakala Swami (1655-1738) occupied an important a place in Sri Vaishanava hierachyas held by Sri Ramanuja in his time and also by Vedantha Desika.

1. By the voluminous works which he wrote and
2. By his wide travels over South India, expanding the Sastras and restoring the temples and temple worship wherever decay had set in.

When he succeeded to the Asthanam of Brahmatantra Swatantra in 1677 A.D, in his twenty-second year, he brought to the Mata the image of Sri Lakshmi Narayana his family god with him to be worshipped along with that of Sri Hayagriva. In the course of his fateful journey to Mysore, after his travels in the North, Sri Periya Parakalar met the emperor Aurangzeb who not only revered him for the pre-eminent position he had attained by his scholarship and rank of royal guru of Mysore but also bestowed some special honours upon the Swami such as those which were the exclusive privilege of the Mughal sovereigns.

Sri Periya Parakala Swami was the son of Sri Srinivasa Desika the great grandson of the celebrated Appalacharya swami of Ghanagiri (Penukonda) who had attained fame as the author of Saraprakasika. Sri Srinivasa assumed sanysa and having ascended the gadi of Sri Brahmatantra Swatantra at Thirupathi assumed the name Sri Thiruvenkatacharya kulaguru of Kempe Gowda III of Magadi assumed sanyasam from his father and having ascended the gadi of the Brahmatantra Parakalmata at Thirupathi assumed the name Sri Periya Parakala Swami.

Among the works attributed to him the most important are the following :

1. Commentaries on the Nalayira Divya prabandhams and so on
2. Sri Desika Prabanadham
3. Yatiprativandana Khandanam
4. Acharyavatara Ghattam
5. Parakalasthana Paddhati
6. Mita Prakasika and a host of other works.

The most reputed of all the contemporary Sri Vaishnava Acharyas of the Tamil Nadu of the time Sri Valla iyengar offered his obesisance to the great swami composing a verse (as was the custom of the time) in which he says that it was by the accumulation of meritorious works of his own past lives that he was destined to worship at the feet of the Swami who alone had the power of destroying hell and whose constant companion was lord Sri Krishna.

Sri Periya Brahmatantra Parakala Swami was succeeded in 1738 A.D. by Sri Srinivasa Parakala Swami. He adorned the Peetham for fourteen years (1751). The works he wrote were :

1. Lakshmyupaya Thatvadeepam.
2. Nyasa Prakasika .
3. Nyasa Prakaiska Vivrithi.
4. Parakala Mangalam.
5. Parakala Vaibhava Prakasika.

Sri Srinivasa Parakala Swami I was followed in Peetham by Sri Vedanta Brahmatantra Parakala Swami I. He was born in 1712 A.D. in Holavanahalli on the banks of the Jayamangala and by his erudition, piety and the quiet and unassuming work which he had been performing in the small place attracted the most learned men who resorted to him to acquire further knowledge and enlightenment. Having received the fourth Ashrama in A.D. 1759, he was raised to the succession to holy seat and filled it with distinction for twenty years.

His disciple Sri Srinivasa II belonging to Thirunaryanapuram (Melukote) born in 1705 A.D. succeeded to the Gadi at a very late age in A.D.1779 and filled that office for only a year. As the end was approaching, he sent for Sri Ramanuja Brahmatantra Parakala Swami and appointed him his successor in the Peetham.

Sri Ramanuja Brahmatantra Parakala Swami : This great sage and yogin was born in A.D.1709. He was the son of Sri Thirumalacharya who was a very near relation of Sri Srinivasa or Sri Thiruvengada Charier who became Sri Periya Parakala Swami. As a native of Bagepalli he happened to take up his abode in Kumbakonam, where he received the Chakrakana and Mantrams from Sri Thirumalai Krishnacharya, a direct disciple of Sri Periya Parakalar. He studied all the Sastras and Vedantha and received Bharanyasam at the feat of Sri Srinivasa Brahmatantra Parakala Swami I. Once when he happened to visit Thirupathi, he received Sanyasam (in his 24th year, 1733 A.D.) even as a Brahmachari at the hands of Sri

Brahmatanttree Jeeyar who lived in the mata. But he recovered from his illness and continued to discharge all the duties attaching to that ashram, teaching and spreading the sacred lore for a period of 36 years. When he had attained his sixty-ninth year he was a called upon by Sri Abhinava Srinivasa Brahmatantra Parakala Swami (Melukote) to ascend the gadi of the Mata at Srirangapattanam in A.D. 1779. He continued to reside for a considerable period in Srirangapattana i.e. till A.D. 1791 administering the sacraments and sacred lore to Sri Maharani Lakshammanniyavaru but during the trouble which ensued in the period of Tippu Sultan culminating in the wars with the Marathas, the Nizam and the British the Swami at the request of Sri Maharani Lakshmmanniyavaru removed himself to Thirupathi. After the fall of Srirangapattanam (1799) he returned and having crowned Sri Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar, king of Mysore, returned to Krishnapuram in T. Narasipur Taluk, having chosen Sri Krishnacharya, afterwards Sri Ghantavatura Parakala Swami to be his successor in the asthadhipatyam on his demise, assuming himself the role of virakta sannyasam. He lived in Krishnapuram for another ten years till 1810. It may be added that Sri Ramanuja Parakal Mata left for Thirupathi and before leaving, he advised Purniah Dewan to build the temple of Sri Swetavaraha at Mysore to serve as the nucleus of the future of Mysore State.

The inscription below is engraved on the North wall of the second prakara of the Varadaraja temple at Kanjeevaram, otherwise called Vishnu-Kanchi which is very sacred to Vaishnavas of the South. The characters in which the record is emerged are Tamil and Grantha the latter being

employed for the Sanskrit words. The language is Tamil with an admixture of Sanskrit words and is somewhat illustrative of the type of Vaishnava composition prevalent in that period and locality. The record is very well preserved and its orthography does not call for any comment.[7]

The record does not quote any king's name but is simply dated in Saka 1282 and contains the astronomical details-vikarin. It states that a certain Vaishnavadasa who had been given the title of Brahma Tantra Swatantra Jeeyar by the God (Hastigirisa) was put in charge of a Mata evidently at Kanchipuram in Saka 1282. This information is of interest for Vaishnava religious history as it enable us to identify the first pontiff of the Mata with the direct disciple of the great Vedanta-Desika the erudite scholar and keen controversialist, and deeply venerated Vaishnava Acharya, whose literary and religious activities were said to have extended over a major portion of the 14th century A.D. As mentioned above the inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, but it is somewhat peculiarly worded. In the Tamil records of the temple, the God is called Arulalap Perumal or Tiruvattiyur-ninraruliya- paramasmin or the great lord who was pleased to stand at Tiruvattiyur. The village name Tiruvattiyur having been sanskritised in to the Hastagiri, the god came to be known to Sanskrit authors as Hastigirisa by which name is referred to in the opening verse of this epigraph. It is stated that on the representation made by the agent Perumaltatan and other Bhattas the god, while seated in regal pomp with his consorts in the abhisheka- mantapa of the temple on the throne named Viravallan under the canopy called the Ariyenavallan-pandal listening to the

chanting of the songs of sathakopa was pleased to confer the title of Brahma Ttantra Swatantra Jeeyar on certain Vaishnavadasa and to put him in charge of a Mata and its properties. He began to propagate the tenants of the Ramanuja-darsanam to the Vaishnava laity and maintain the library which he had collected probably in the Mata premises. A sentence at the end adds that his divine order (Tirumugam) was engraved on stone by the temple accountant.

In regard to the particular style of wording in the inscription couched as if the orders had emanated directly from the deity himself, it may be mentioned that the convention was adopted by some of the Vaishnava temples in the Tirunelveli district in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. and in some instances in the South Arcot and Chingelpet districts also.

Viravallam Simhasanam and Ariyena Vallan Pandal are the names respectively of a throne and a canopy. The first was probably presented to the temple by the Hoysala king Viraballala III, while the second might have been named, after someone having the title who was as powerful as a lion.

Nam Pendugal-viz, Vishnus two consorts, Sri and Bhumi.

Sathakopam-pattu- Kelanirka-Satakopa is the name of the Vaishnava saint Nammalvar whose Tiruvaymoli is considered equal to the Vedas in sanctity and is chanted in the presence of the deity on particular occasions. Endowments made for the service in Vishnu temples are often mentioned in inscriptions.

Perumattan-Perumatttan or Perumatdasam would ordinary mean a devotee of Perumal (Vishnu) but in this context it appears to have been the name of the agent supervising the sacred business of the temple (name Vittu Karuman Ketkum) in whose presence and that the Bhattas of the temple the order is stated to have been promulgated. The name Vaishanavadas occurring in the same line has to be considered as meaning the servant devotee of Vaishnavas rather than as the personal name of the donee in the record foe according to the Guruparampara-Prabhavam, the original name of Brahmatantra Swatantra-Jeeyar was Perarulayyam of Viravali and his Dasyanama on becoming a sannyasin war Peraulala- Jeeyar, samaradhanamum adukkumataok-kalum seems to refer to the worship to be conducted to the deities kept in the Mata itself and the requirements. It is usual for every Mata to have images of some duties for worship. In this connection, it may be noted that on the eve of the demise of Vedanta to his disciple Brahma-tantra Swatantra Jeeyar.

Pastakangalum Idukku vendum upakaranamgalam by postakangal (postulaa) manuscript bundles are apparently meant. The upakaranas are the accessories and paraphernalia required for running a librarary such a probably racks for the accommodation of the manuscript bundles spare sets of cadjan leaves for copying work and stylus and other scribal apparatus.

Ramanuja Darsanam is the Visishtadvaita Siddhanta as certified and expounded in his Sribhashya by the great Vaishnava apostle Ramanuja (A.D.1017-1137). It was he who had raised this system to an unassailable

eminence and had arranged for its propagation in true missionary style by the training of a number of able exponents and simhasana-dhipatis among his numerous disciples.

(L.5) Nam Ramanuja-udaiyayaram nam samayattil ullarum-Ramanuja-udiyar appears to mean the follower of Ramanuja. The idea seems to be that the selection of Brahmatantra-svatantra- Jeeyar of *Ramanuja followers and the Vaishnava laity (samayattil-ullar).*

Ivanukkunam muditha padiyum pusinapadiyum kuduttam means that the flowers worn by the god the clothes used by him and the sandal paste and unguents utilized for his worship were presented to the Jeeyar as a mark indicative of the god's love to the recipent. The expression is found used in some inscriptions and in Vaishnava literature.

As regards Brahmatantra Swatantra-Jeeyar the donee of the record, some information is available from Vaishnava literature. Among the South Indian religions it was Vaishnavism alone that had developed the historical sense to an appreciable extent and there are therefore several biographies of the Vaishnava Acharayas available collected under the names of vaibhavas and Guruparamparas of varying volume. One such work dealing with the life of the great Vaishnava reformer Vedanta-Desika is the Guru parampara-Prabhavam in Tamil Phase by Tritiya Brahma-Tantra-Swatantra-Jeeyar shown of the few miraculous elements that are inevitable in an orthodox biography the work compiled by an author who lived only a few generations. Desika may be considered as fairly reliable. From it we gather

the following details about Brahmatantra Swatantra Jeeyar the first of that name who was a disciple of Vedantadesik.[8]

Brahma-Tantra-Swatantra-Jeeyar belonged to the Kaundinya-gotra and was originally called viravalli perarulayyam well-versed in all the sastras he became an ordent disciple of Desika and assumed the sannyasa garb under the name of Perarulala- Jeeyar when the Ranganatha temple at Srirangam was looted by the Mohammadans in the first quarter of the 14th century Brahmatantra Swtantra-Jeeyar fled along with his acharya to Satyamangalam (in the Coimbatore district) and returned to Srirangam only after some years. He taught the Bhagavadvishayam (Arayirappadi) by Varadacharya alias Nayimacharya the son and disciple of Vedanta Desika in kali 4440, Bahudhanya, Avanisu, hasta. (A.D.1338 August 18). On one occasion he vanquished a pandit of North India in a polemical contest at Srirangam and was honoured by Desika with the title of Brahmatantra that accounts for the origin of the name by which he was popularly known. On another occasion during the regime of Tirumalai Srinivasacharya who had been installed by Desika as the Srikarya-dhurandhara of the Kanchipuram temple, Brahmatantra Swatantra Jeeyar overcame a Kashmirian pandit in a philosophical discussion and earned the title of Periya-Bhasyakara. Sometime later under the direction of God Venkatesa in a dream, he accepted the Trusteeship of the Tirupathi temple and during his tenure of office he installed an image of Vedanta-Desika in a Mata built by him at Tirumalli as well as in a mandapa in the Govindaraja temple at lower Tirupathi. He stayed at Tirupathi for a long time expanding the Vaishnava

philosophy to his disciples Ghatikasatakam-Ammal Kidambi-Nayinar. Kumandur Achchav pillaily-Appai perarulalayyan-Appai kandadai-Andam Viravallai pillai and others. After his demise, he was succeeded by Perarulaayyan Appai Brahmatantra Swatantra-Jeeyar was the author of the small works the Divyasuri-stuti and the Acharyavatara-ghattartha.

Brahma Tantra Swatantra Jeeyar of the record under review may be identified with the disciple of Vedanta-Desika because of the fact that the investiture of the unique title of Brahmatantra Swatantra is attributed to god himself. The Mata which was thus started at Kanchipuram under the pontificate of this Brahma Tantra Swatantra Jeeyar in A.D.1360 grew in importance and appears to have shifted its headquarters to Melukote in Mysore State where it became popular under the name of the Parakala Mata. There were several scholars among the subsequent heads of the Mata and a short sketch of its history has been given in the granth-upasamhara of the Alankara-manihara. Vedanta-Desika is stated in the Guruparampara Prabhavam to have been the contemporary of a certain Telugu chief named Saruayna-Singhabupala and to have composed the Subhashitan for his delectation. The same chief is said to have honoured Nayyinaracharya the son and disciple of Desika. With the gift of a palanquin and other paraphernalia when this acharya went to the Northern parts in his religious tours. It follows that Brahama-Tantra Swatantra was also a contemporary of this singa.

Another point of interest in this epigraph is the reference to a collection of manuscripts (or a library) which was kept in the Mata and a stipulation made for its proper upkeep as envisaged in the expression "ivtedina postakangalum idukku vendam upakaramangalum". It is well-known that in the medieval centuries religious institutions of all denominations, Saiva, Vaishnava and Jaina flourished in South India either as a result of royal patronage or supported by private benefactions. They appear to have been primarily intended seminaries for the imparting of religious education and incidentally for the dissemination of secular knowledge as well. The extensive properties granted from time to time temples and to such religious establishments were left in charge of the heads of these Matas called Matadhipatis, Mudaliyars or Jeeyars on whom devolved the duty of supervising the proper conduct of the services for which the endowments had been intended and who in turn enjoyed some privileges as remuneration for their services.

1. *Tirumugappadi [1] Svastisri Etat= sur-asur-adhisa-mauli-ratna-prabh-arunam S. SriMatastigirisasya devadevasya sasanam [II] Vikarisamvastaratu mesha-nayarru parva- pakshttu prathamaiyam velli-kkilamaiyum.*
2. *perra Asvati-nal abhisheka-manapattu viravallalan simhasanattu Ariyanavaallan-Pandalkal nanum Pennugawdan satakopan -pattu-kkelanirka nam vidu karunketkum*

3. *perumattatanum nam bhatta [r] kalum solka-kkettu Bramha-tantra-svatantra-Jeeyar enorunam per kudutta. Vaishnavadasam ukkunam kodutta padi Ivanukku undana Matamum Matattai nokki*

4. *Varum kshetramum samaradhanamum adukku vendum matau kkalum ivan tedina postakangalum Idukku vendum upakaranangalum nam Ramanuja-darsanam nadakkikkaga ivanukku*

5. *Pinbum ivan niyamitta ivanudaiya sishyargal paramparaiy=aga ivaiyirri-kkaikkondudatti-ppodakkadavargal=agauum [1} Ivanai nam Ramunujam-udaiyarum nam samayattil ullarum kai*

6. *Kkondu nadatti-ppoda-chchonnam [1] I-chche ydiyal= kkallipuram sembilum vettikkollumbadi ivanukku nam mudittapadiyum uduttapadiyum pusinapadiyum kuduttam- Ippadikku*

7. *Titiruvay-malarnad= arulinapadikku koyil-kkanalaku perarulala priyan eluttv I-Hirumugam eludina sakablam ayirattu iru-nurru enbattuirandavadu.*

Translation

This is according to the sacred order

Hail prosperity

This is the order of the glorious lord of Hastigiri the god of gods which is red with the brillance of the gems in the diadems of the (supplicating) lords of the celestials and of the Asuras

In the month of messha of the (cyclic) year vikarin on a Friday with prathama-tithi of the first fortnight and Asvati-nakshatra while we in company

with our consorts were listening to the songs of sathakopa seated on the throne (named) viravallalen under the canopy (called) Ariyenavallan in the abhisheka- mandapa (of the temple).

On the representation (Made) by Perumaltatan who supervises the (sacred) business of our temple (namvidu) and by Bhattas we were pleased to assign to a Vaishnavadasa on whom we had bestowed the name of Brahma-Tantra-Swatantra-Jeeyar, the Mata which had been set apart for him the lands.[9]

We directed that the followers of Ramanuja (Ramanuja-udaiyur) and those of our vaishnava samayam shall accept him (i.e his pontificate) and carry on (the works).

We also ordered that this information be engraved on stone and copper and we presented him (in token of our regard) what had been worn (as clothes) and what had been anointed (as unguents) by us.

As thus graciously commanded (by the god) this is the writing (or signature) of the temple accountant Perarulalapriyam.

The saka year in which this sacred order was written (engraved) is one thousand two hundred and eighty two.

Kannada sannad by Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1639-59) 13th lunar day of the dark half of Jyestha in the cyclic year of virodhi.

The sannad is issued in the name of the king Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar...The sannad records an order of the king that the practice of using the tanian (invocatory verse) of Ramanuja Dayapatru in sacred places like the Tirunarayana Swami temple at Melukote on the occasion of reciting prabandhas (Tamil hyms) which was in vogue from the the time of Raja Wodeyar king of Mysore up to the reign of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar should continue in the future also in the same manner as previously.

This invocatory Sanskrit verse commencing with Ramanuja-dayapatram is stated to have been composed by Brahmatantra swami, disciple of Vedantadesika and the reputed founder of the Parakal Mata in the Kali year 4490 Bahudhanyasam. Avani Masam suk.2 Hasta-nakshatra which is equivalent to 18th August 1338 A.D. at Melukote and sanctioned by vedantadesika for use in the recitation and study of the Tamil prabandhas. It is said to have received for their support from the approved of the god Ranganatha at Srirangam in the year sarvada Hari.

A copper plate grant at Srirangapattana E.c. III Srirangapatnam 64 of A.D. 1722 of the king of Mysore. Krishnaraja Wodeyar I son of Kantirava Narasa Wodeyar II refers to an ascetic named Srinivasa yati. etc.

According to the annals of the Mysore Royal part I p. 163 the priest who came from Tirupati as the above king's guru is Dodda Parakala Swami. The Mata tradition identifies him Srinivasa yati of the above copper-plate and with Parakala Swami in the Belur sannad.

Sri Parakala Swami or Periya (Dodda) Parakala Swami.

Sri Parakala Swami referred to above (in the annals of the royal family) is intimately connected with Magadi (Bangalore district) to whose chiefs he as well as his ancestors had been family gurus.

An extract from p. 15, para 55 of the Annual report of the Mysore Archaeological department for the year 1922 has the following.

Kempanachi Gowda's son Viregowda came to Mysore from Alur a village near Kanjeevaram. He built the village Yelahanka and set up the god Gopalkrishna there took possession of Bangalore and constructed a tank named Kempambudhi.

His son Hiriya Kempegowda (1588-1608) built in Bangalore a fort and four watch towers known as vaiyalisikhara in the four directions. He went to Vijayanagara and received from King Krishnadevaraja Ballapura, Devanhalli and Hoskote.

The following is an extract from the copy of an inscription in Kadur taluk Epigraphia Carnatica Vol VI Mysore Archelogical series page 9 No 46 date 1744 A.D.

Translation from (Telugu)

Obeisance to Ramanuja a saimukha from the establisher of the way of the Vedas, priest of both vedantas, head of the Paramahamsa sanyasis, establisher of the darshans by consent of all the disciples of the feet of Kavi-Kathaka Kantirava the Brahmatantra Swatantra Swami of Tirumala Tirupathi

and Periya Kovil (or Srirangam) to the officials of the nine-jeweled throne in the various sacred places and to all holymen in the name of Narayana.

Whereas (on the date specified Raktakshi sama Tula month Krishnapaksha 2 Friday) to the granddaughter of the Telugu Banja Tirumala of Galipuje Sakkarepatna has been given asrayand (consecration by branding with a seal) together with a silk cloth a holy necklace as well as a conch-shell, a fan, three kinds of drums (named Hanumantha and Garuda, a kettle drum a waving banner a stuff and other emblems let all religious men respect the same as the order of Venkatesvara the lord of all worlds.

Dalavoy Puttananjaraja of Srirangapattana having presented her with ornaments let not kings disregard this and trouble her. Throughout the country the believers in Vishnu, kings, merchants, sudras and other castes (named) should all give her alms (usual imprecation).[10]

Fortune to Srinivasa obeisance to Ramanuja. Immadi Kempe Gowda captured Hulikal, Huliyurudurga and Sivaganga took possession of Magadi and built on Savanadurga a fort and the temples of Narasimha and Virabhadra. He also built at the instance of his family guru Sreenivasadesikacharya the navaranga or central hall of the Ranganatha temple near Magadi.

As there was some misunderstanding between his two sons Mummadi Kempe Gowda and Honnappa Gowda he made a division of the kingdom and made the younger son Honnapa Gowda the ruler of Hulikal in

1634, directing him to have Annayacharya of Hulikal as his guru. On a representation made by his guru Tiruvenkatacharya that subsequently Tiruvenkatacharya became a sanyasi under the name of Dodda Parakala Swami and resided in the Mata at Srirangapattana.

Kempavirappa Gowda sanctioned a money grant to the Ranganatha temple at the instance of Dodda Parakala Swami who sent for consecration in the temple metallic figures of the goddess Lakshmi and Vedantacharya. The scale of expenditure was also drawn up in consultation with the swamis grandson Raghavacharya.

In 1711 the chief set up for his mother the god Cheluvarayaswami in Cheluvarayapet to the South of Magadi with the assistance of Srirangacharya who had come there from Sreerangam and in 1712 the god Varadarayaswami at Baichapura with the assistance of his guru Raghavacharya in (Kannada) dated 1760 (Vikrama Sam Margasira su. 15) p. 153 (wrongly post dated as A.D.1820).

This is a nirupa addressed by the king Krishnaraja Wodeyar II of Mysore to Krishnayya of the Ayakat department (a department organized by Chikkdevaraja Wodeyar for looking after the revenues and expenditure of the 84 districts of Mysore accounts of the military department and stores personnel receipts and expenditure of the king.

The object of the record is to register the king's decree that the revenue of certain villages amounting to 500 varahas Kanthirai per year

should be assigned in place of money grant for defraying the expenses of feeding the Brahmins Chaturmasya sankalpa (maintaince of the swami had remain at headquarters for the rainy season) the birthday feast of Srinivasa Parakala Swami and the daily worship of Vedanthacharya in Alwar Tirumagiri.

It is stated that this sum of 500 varahas was being met from various items of revenue belonging to Ayakattina chavadi the big stores and the small stores the department of Vichara chavadi and Devasthana chavadi. The present order substituted for this income of the villages Attami 2 etc. belonging to Andura-sthala belonging to Ayakattina-chavadi.

The details of the revenue of the villages assigned are Annual income of the village of Mungipatti 100 Gopala gadyanas income of the village Navadur 250 Gopala gadyanas or 500 Kantirai varahas.

The income of three villages amounting to 500 varahas was ordered to be assigned to the mata of Vedanta Parakala Swami and the villages were to be made over to the mata free from taxes and boundary stones were to be set up for the villages.

The nirupa was to be copied by the clerk (Karanika) of the chavadi (department) and to be then sent to the mata.

(Sri) seal

(This is again confirmed by the Chitrabhanu sam record addressed to Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur)

Note on the latter the sanad records a grant made by Krishnaraja Wodeyar II and his mother (Ammanavaru).

Annual report of the Mysore Archaeological department for the year 1938.

This sannad has a small seal with the letters Sri Krishna in Nagari characters on the top. Below are two small lines the upper one containing the name Ammanavaru and the lower one the name Krishnarajadeyaravaru (II) Below there is main booty body of the sanad.

The sanad records a grant made by the Mysore Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734-1766) and his mother Ammanavaru. It is addressed to Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur who was the ruler of Mysore State from 1761-1782. The date of the grant is the 14th lunar day of the bright half of Margasira in the year Chitrabhanu Devajammanni was the king's adoptive mother.

The sanad begins with the statement that the villages Atani, Navaluru and Mungipatti situated in Anduru-sthala were given away as ordered by the king's mother, free of taxes to the Mata of Vedanta Parakala Swami for carrying on the charities like the feeding of the Brahmins everyday.

It is stated in the sanad that sometime after the above villages came into the possession of the mata a local agent (sthaladalli baduku maduwaru) was demanding for himself the rent due to the mata and brought the villages under his authority and in various ways caused trouble.[11]

The sanad concludes with an order that as the said villages were granted for the feeding of Brahmins in the mata of Vedanta Parakala Swami,

the local agent had no right to interfere in the above manner and he was to be ordered to make over the money exacted till then to the mata and to allow the mata to enjoy in peace the said villages and to prevent any molestation or obstruction to the mata in enjoyment of the villages.

Melkote or Melukote was a celebrated sacred town. It was built on the rocky hills named Yadugiri over looking the Motitalab and the Cauvery valley.

Melukote high or superior fort was one of the principal sacred places in Mysore. When the Vaishnava reformer Ramanujacharya fled from the persecution of the Chola king, early in the 12th century he took up his residence at Melukote and lived there for 14 years. It became the chief seat of the Sri-Vaishnava sect of Brahmins. They reaped the benefit of the conversion by their apposite of the Hoysala king Bittedeva also called Vishnuvardhana. In obtaining assignment of all the most fertile tracts of land in the neighborhood especially of the Ashta grama on either bank of the Cauvery.

The place suffered at the hands of the Muhammadans who wrecked Dorasamudra in the 14th century as it was to Tondanur now Tonnur at the Southern foot of the hill that the Hoysala king at first retired. It was subsequently restored in about 1460 by Thimmanna Dannayaka lord of Nagamangala who was the minister of the Vijayanagaraa king Mallikaarjuna or Immadi Prouda Devaraja. The buildings must have been on a large scale

as the remains of the Gopalraja on the South are of immense proportions. The former approaches are flagged with stones for a considerable distance.

In 1771 the Marathas having encamped to the South of the hill after their victory over Hyder Ali at Chinkuruli the Brahmins deserted Melukote which was as usual plundered. For the sake of iron the immense wooden cars belonging to the temples were set on fire and the flames spreading to the religious buildings some of them were entirely consumed. The principal temple is a square building of great dimensions but very plain dedicated to Krishna under the name of Cheluva-pulle Raja.

A more striking edifice was the temple of Narasimha placed on the very summit of the rock. The large temple was richly endured having been under the special patronage of the Mysore Rajas and had a most valuable collection of Jewels. As early as 1614 and find Raja Wodeyar who first acquired Srirangapattana and adopted the Vaishnava faith making over to the temple and Brahmans at Melukote the estate granted him the Vijayanagaraa king Venkatapati Raja. There is also an inscription of 1785 showing that even Tippu Sultan granted some elephants for the temple. The Vairumudi festival which was the chief annual celebration was attended by 10,000 people. The guru of the Sri-Vaishanava Brahmans, styled the Parakala Swami lived at Melukote and Mysore. The site of a ruined palace of the Mysore Rajas adjoining the great temple was laid out as a public garden.

The inhabitants were mostly Brahmins, they were attached to the great temple and received a daily allowance, some of them being men of

learning. There was also a class of temple servants of sudra extraction, consisting of musicians, dancing girls and Vaishnava or satananas. The only persons in the place who dived by industry were a few families of weavers and some shop keepers.[12]

Two classes of Holeyas : Tirukula and Jambavakula were credited with having assisted Ramanuja in recovering the image of Krishna when it was carried off to Delhi hence they had the privilege of entering the temples once a year to pay their devotions.

A strata of Schistose mica which was decayed into a fine white clay was considered sacred. It is said to have been discovered by Ramanuja and was used by the Sri-Vaishnava Brahmins for making the nama or sectarian marks on their foreheads. It was such demand for his purpose on account of its purity that it was transported to distant places even as far as Benaras. It was fabled to have been brought to Melukote by Garutman the bird of Vishnu from Svetadweepa (the white island) in the Kshirasamudra (the milk ocean).

On one of the pillars of the navaranga of the Narayanaswami temple here is a bas-relief about 1.5 feet high of the Mysore king Raja-Wodeyar (1578-1617) standing with folded hands with the name inscribed on the base. He is said to have been a great devotee of the god and a constant visitor to the temple. A golden crown set with jewels was presented by him to the god. It was known as Raja-mudi after his name and issued even now for the god during one of the annual festivals.

The private library of his holiness the Yatirajaswamigal of Melukote contained a large number of Sanskrit and Tamil works being on the Visishtadvaita school of philosophy a few works being logic rhetoric mathematics, astronomy, astrology ritual architecture panchatantra, dharmasatra and grihya and dharma sutras and commentaries on a good number of Sanskrit works. Clothes of good quality were made here and ornamental punkhas or fans of the fragrant roots of the Kuskus grass.

Moti Talab or lake of pearls- a large tank at Tonnur Srirangapattana taluk. It is formed by an embankment carried across a gap between two rocky hills which stems the water of the Yadavanadi and other mountain torrents that were unite their streams. The mound whose dimensions are given as 78 cubic high 150 long and 250 thick at the base is said to have been constructed by Ramanujacharya the Srivaishnava Brahman reformer who had taken up his abode at the neighbouring town of Melukote. He is said to have named the tank Tirumalasagara. When the tank is full it contains a sufficient quality of water to supply the cultivators for two years but owing to failure of rain the water frequently continues lower than the opening of the outlet. Although the torrents bring down much sand it so happens that the tanks is never affected by that circumstances for the two streams enter in such directions as to force all the sand towards extreme corners with out diminishing the main depth. Nasir Jung son of the Subedar of the Deccan who visited it in 1746 gave it the name of Moti Talab or lake of pearls an appellation to which its clear and beautiful water perhaps entitles it.

The bank breached and water drained off by Tippu Sultan in 1798 to prevent it being used by an enemy besieging Srirangapattana.[13]

He was noted for the catholicity of his religious outlook. Numerouswere his gifts and grants alike to individuals and to Shaiva and Vaishnava temples in the kingdom. Repairs and services to the temples of Ranganatha and Narayana in Srirangapattana and merlot respectively claimed his constant share of attention. In particular he is said to have endowed the latter shrine with a jeweled crown as Raja-mudi (named after himself) and the former with lands yielding 50 khandugas of paddy under the tank of kalastavadi by him.

The Melkote copper-plate grant dated April by 1614 registers a gift by Raja Wodeyar of the village of Muttigere (Narasimhapura) divided into 50 shares of which 49 were distributed among 28 Brahmans and one was set apart to provide for the offering of the Garudavahana in the temple of Chaluvayaswami (Narayana) at Melkote.

A Bhakta-vigraha of Raja Wodeyar a bas-relief statue one and half feet high standing with folded hands with his name inscribed on the base is found carved on one of the pillars of the Navaranga of the Narayanswami temple at Melkote. At the time of his death weird spectacle is said to have been observed in Narayanswami temple at Melkote where Raja Wodeyar having entered the garabha-griha was known to have become one with the deity.

Chamaraja Wodeyar had five queens. Muddajamma of Yelandur, Deviramma of Bilugali Siddajamma of Mugur, Channajamma of Mudana-kote and Doddajamma of Sindhuvalli. He is said to have issues which however seem to have died in their infancy. At the instance of his principal queen Muddajamma Chamaraja Wodeyar in 1633 is stated to have got constructed in her name a bathing-ghat in the pond at Melukote for the convenience of piligrims during the vaira-mudi and Brahmotsavam festivals.

The period of Kantirava's rule witnesses an important stage in the development of Sri Vaishnavavism in South India in general and Mysore in particular. Already Melukote had become a prominent center of Srivaishnavaism and no less important was Srirangapattana the capital city. Mysore significant still perhaps was the influence of Vaishnava tradition that was being continually exerted on the Mysore royal house from the early years of the seventeenth century. We have seen how Raja Wodeyar Chamaraja Wodeyar and Immadi-Raja Wodeyar were staunch Vaishnavites Bettada- Chamaraja Wodeyar father of Kanthirava.

Among the towns, Melukote was already referred to a prominent center of Sri-Vaishnavism with its main gate (perbagilu) principal street (sri-vidhi) Sri-gopuradvara pond (kalyani) temple of Tirunarayanaswami (with the images of the god and the goddess and the sri-vashnava saints the Rnagamantapa etc) and the palace (aramane) with the inner pavilion (ola-chauki) and the namathirta pavilion (namathirthada chauki).[14]

By far the most characteristic expression of contemporary life is discernible in the public festivals celebrated during the period these attracted not only the local populace but people from far and near. All classes of people appear freely participating in them. The birthday (Tirunakshatram) of Sri-Ramanujacharya annually celebrated at Melkote under the constellation of Aridra in the month of chaitra (March-April) was according to the Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali a great festival (piriyukkevam) attended by Sri Vaishnava celebrities from different countries (palavam divya-desangalindeytarpa desika-sartha).

Doddadevaraja Wodeyar eldest son of Muppina-Devaraja Wodeyar and cousin brother of Kanthiravanarasaraja Wodeyar from Mysore it would appear also paid a visit to Melkote on one such occasion (1643-44) accompanied by his friends and preceptor Alasingaraya.

Amritamba wife of Devaraja Wodeyar was as she is depicted[15] an ideal and pious lady ever devoted to her husband. As already indicated she got constructed in 1656 a stone Mata in the palace at Hangala (where muppina Devaraja Wodeyar had died) and an independent Mata for Marala-Basalinga-Devaru granting the village of Horakeri-Bachahalli as an endowment to the latter[16] and a newly erected a Lingayat Mata in the town of Mysore. Evidently she seems to have been patron of the vira-Shaivas. She appears to have predeceased Doddadevaraja Wodeyar[17] and her memory is perpetuated by a votive mantapa to the East of the namatirtha

pavilion at Melukote with her name inscribed thereon (Amrutammanavara seve mantapa).[18]

The influence of education and the training Chikadevaraja Wodeyar had received at the hands of his teachers the strong Sri-vaishnava leanings of his own grandfather (Muppina Devaraja Wodeyar) and father (Doddadevaraja Wodeyar) the latter under the teaching and inspiration of Alasingaraya lastly the living example of Tirumalarya companion and colleague of Chikkdevaraja these were perhaps factors contributing to that result[19] the foundations of Sri Vaishnavism as the personnel creed of Chikkadeva had thus been laid long before his accession to the throne of Mysore in 1673. So that during the period of his actual rule he was as he depicted to us[20] an ardent devotee at the feet of devotees like Apratima-Rajagopla of Haradanahalli (Haradanapura) Paravasudeva of Devanagara on the banks of the Kaundini Gopala of Kanjagiri (Gopalaswami hill) Ranganatha of Paschimaranga (Srirangapattana) and Narayana of Yudugiri (Melukote) among others.

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar is like his predecessor reputed for the numerous gifts he made alike to individuals and institutions in and outside the kingdom. In particular under his active encouragement learned and deserving Brahmanical families were we learn[21] constantly settled in Melkote, Srirangam, Anjangiri, Kanchi, Vikshavana, Rammesvaram, Sankhamukha, Darbhasayanam, Benares, Dvaravatipura (dvaraka)

Jagannatha and prayaga. He gave the endowment of gold ornaments to the two Nachyars in the Narayanaswami temple at Melukote.[22]

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar vivid expression of Sri Vaishnavism as his personal faith is recorded in his work Binnapa in Kannada. Thus of the supreme being and of salvation, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the course of thirty humble petitions (Binnapa)[23] addressed to Sri- Narayana of Yudugiri (Melukote) says "Oh Lord of Yadugiri having settled on the famous peak adoring the Karanataka country. Thou last attained celebrity as the protector of all people and as the tutelary diety (kula-devate) of the Yadu race. Thou art infinite thou art manifest in the Vedas, Puranas and the eighteen vidyas. The Vedas proclaim that the entire business of the world is thine. As the attendants of a king profuse him for the attainment of happiness by his subjects and follows so do the Vedas praise Thee for the bestowal of eternal happiness on those devotees of Thine following the prescribed course of conduct. The Gita speaks of this the smritis, ithihasa puranas and agamas describe it. Indeed those who have grasped the fundamentals of philosophy over without contradiction that thou art an object of wonder. Thou art an embodiment of the entire world being one in diversity. In my own case the sword Nandaka which I was actually favoured with by three in a dream has stayed perpetually with me and has enabled me by virtue of the Thy glory to cut down the enemies who surrounded me in all the four directions. A pious king in this world lays down rules and regulations governing the protection and punishment of his subjects. If he acts up to them regardless of any distinction he will be considered as impartial in scrupulously adhering to

them he will be held as absolute and in pardoning a delinquent, he will be regarded as king-hearted. Even so is the case with Thee in awarding Thy retributions to sentiment beings according to their actions (karma) Thou art the cause of all creation and preserver and destroyer too. Thou art the supreme lord of all individual souls and the essence of our relation is that of master and servant. As the Supreme Being Thou art at the head of all creation including animate and inanimate objects worlds for the experiencing of fruits of past karma and oceans, heavens and bells of various kinds. Fear of falling into hell vanishes by the mere recitation of Thy name sinners become purified by contemplating Thee.[24]

Salvation (moksha) is an end most cherished by those who are free from mundane cares. All the other ends are evanescent salvation alone is eternal and it is to be attained by right action purifies the mind and leads to right knowledge and is besides part and parcel of right faith. Right faith censer around the sincere attachment of a devote to the lord. A knowledge of the philosophy of the supreme being (artha- panchaka tatvajnana satvika-sastra) is however absolutely necessary for the attainment of salvation. As several routes ultimately lead to the same place, so do the Vedas the pancharatra, yoga sankhya and pasupatha schools of philosophy in depicting Thy greatness aim at one and the same goal. Oh lord of Yadugiri to those who have renounced the world and placed their trust in thee. Thou art easily accessible renunciation of wordly desire as is taught by the elders is easiest to achive and is governed by the conception of relationship between master and servant disregarding the king his master acquires for

his personal use and spends away according to his own whims all that is due to the latter from the different parts of the kingdom such a servant is to be considered as being both avaricious and treacherous. If he on the other hand realizing his own position places before his master all the things amassed or acquired in his name and serves him receiving from him whatever he spares after his use in the shape of food raiments jewels etc such a servant is worthy of being regarded as impartial and sincere. Similarly if a person not knowing his self enjoys workly pleasures thinking that he is himself absolute such a person will neither achieve renunciation or desire nor be devoted to thee if he however realizing that he is thy servant conscientiously serves in thee by the following the prescribed course of conduct (varnasrma dharmangal) and experiences the pleasures extended by thee through the vedas and sastra he is to be regarded as really devoted to thee. Mere action (karma) is not a sufficient means to attain salvation. It is just like service rendered by a servant to his master governed by considerations of time remuneration and the ego. It is also of a fold character good and bad (satkarma dushkarma) external and optional (nityam kamyam) and the latter (i.e. duskarma kamya-karma) plunges one in illusion (avidya) and eternal prison-house of this world (samsaramemba seremaneya kedapi) from the letters of it which there is no chance of redemption. Devotion to Thee trust in Thee and service and absolute surrender at Thy feet alone lead to such redemption.[25]

Again holding communion with realizing the divine attributes of Vishnu Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the Gita-Gopalam speaks of trust in god's grace

(nambuge) and self-surrender to him (prapatti) as means to the attainment of salvation by the people.

To the people of this world the hope of salvation lies only in the philosophy underlying the Gita. As a physician administers medicine in the form of milk to the person who desires it so does Chikkadevaraja expound that philosophy to them.[26]

"Oh Lord Paschima-Ranga tell me whether Thou knoweth not this. It is a source of pleasure for me to know that I am Thy man. I do not recollect anybody else expect Thee nor did I have trust in mere action knowledge faith and renunciation. In boyhood there is much aberration in youth much vain pleasure: In old age there is liability of the body to diseases of various types. The fruit of karma never cease. Systems of philosophy are many among them are some disputations. The truth can never be made out by penetrating into them. Knowledge is never be made out by penetrating into them. Knowledge is never a sufficient means to salvation. By subjecting the body to mortification by controlling the passions and by rigorous concentration renunciation can never be achieved without going up the hankering after the material world there can be neither true faith nor salvation."[27]

We may now briefly describe some Kannada works written by Tamil-Srivaishnava scholars related to some important holy places in Tamil Nadu. The leading scholars were Chikkupadhyaya and Tirumalarya (Tirumalaiyangar) the Sri-Vaishnava ministers of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to the school of the former belong his proteges namely Timma-kavi,

Mallikarjuna and Mallarasa to that of the latter Singararaya, Chikkadevaraja. Ramayanam-Tirumalarya, Honnamma and Singaramma all of whose productions are permitted by the essentially Sri-Vaishnava spirit of the age though Chikkupadhyaya and his school appear to claim by far the greatest share of the literary output during the reign the influence of the two leaders and instance of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Thus the Kamalachala-Mahatmye[28] in 16 chapters contains an account of Kanjagiri (or the Goplswami hills) as given in the Bhavishyottara-Purana the Hastigiri-Mahatmye[29] in 18 chapters the Venkatagiri- Mahatmye[30] and the Sriranga-Mahatmye[31] in 10 chapters each and the Paschimaranga-Mahatmye[32] in 6 chapters. There enshrine respectively accounts of Kanchi, Tirupati, Srirangam and Srirangapattana as narrated in the Brahmanada-Purana and lastly the Yadavagiri-Mahatmye[33] in 12 chapters deals with the account of Melukote (Yudugiri) as related in the Naradiya-Purana. These complications are generally written in a mixture of Halagannada prose and poetry. The methodology adopted in them by Chikkupadhyaya is of particular interest to us. In the introductory chapter of each Mahatmye Ramanuja the Alvars the demi- gods of the Sri-Vaishnava hireachy (like Garuda and Viswaksena) and the presiding diety of the place dealt with are usually invoked. Then follows a geographical description of the Karnataka country (bhubhaga-varnane) including the city of Mysore. This is succeeded in term by an account of the pedigree (vamsa-vistara-varnane) of the ruling dynasty of Mysore and by a narrative of the exploits of Chikkadevaraja himself (the hero and the poets patron) the latest political event referred to being the siege

and acquisition of Andur. Maddagiri and his personal religion so clear indeed is the prose style of these writings that they seem to reveal an attempt at a direct exposition of their subject matter by Chikkupadhyaya to Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar himself.

On February 18, 1678 Chikupadhyaya completed the Divya-suri-charite.[34] It is a champu work in Halagannada in14 chapters rendered from the original work in Tamil at the desire of Chikkadevaraja. It deals with the history of the twelve Sri-Vaishnva saints (Alvars suri) the author styles it an epic (maha-prabandha). The introductory chapter begins as usual with invocations to Ramanuja, god Ranganath of Srirangapattana and the Alvars and contains a brief account of the pedigree of Chikadevaraj Wodeyar and references to his religious avocations and his court. The succeeding chapters are centered round the subject matter proper. The diction is sweet and melodious in keeping with the established principles of the Kannada language (*Kannada bhasha kramadi hosedu)* the prevailing sentiment being bhakti. It is an important contribution to the traditional history and philosophy of Sri- Vaisnavism in Kannada intended for popular use (*rudhiyagirairaleve kendu*).

The next series of Chikkupadhyaya works belongs to the period. (1678-1680) and deals mainly with the purnic accounts of the merits of holy places (Mahatmye) of Sri Vaishnava importance. These accounts are renderings from the originals in Sanskrit done at the adjacent forts 1678.[35] References to the personality character and rule of Chikkadeva his religious

advocations and his darbar and the ancestry and attainments of the poets among other particulars not infrequently follow both by way of completing the descriptive account of the rise and fortunes of the hero (nayakabhyudaya-varnane) and by way of indicating that the Mahatmye was a product of Chikkadevaraja's court. The succeeding chapters deal with the subject matter proper of the work. In exceptionally longer works the Kamalachala Mahatmye is a champu works. It is further a new form of composition charterised by grandeur of sentiment of diction, excellence of meanings nicety of verbal embellishment and beauty of euphonic junctions and compounds. The Hastigiri Mahatmye another champu is also written in the same style of literary expression while adhering to the kavya model the objective aimed at being of course popular appreciation. The Venkatagiri-Mahatye is a prose commentary. The Sriranga Mahatmye is also written in prose being intended solely for popular enlightment. The Paschimaranga-Mahatmye and the Yadavagiri-Mahatmye are poems in their sangatya metre the latter being written in prose also as yadugiri Mahatmye.[36] The Mahatmyes of Chikkupadhyaya on the whole constitutes a new type of literature in themselves in that they delinate Sri-Vaishnava tradition against a background of epic poetry bhakti being the prevailing sentiment throughout. They are thus an important addition to the literature on Sri-Vaishnavavism in Kannada.

To almost the same period (1678-1681) belong the Bhagavad-Gita-Tiiku[37] and Rukmangada Charitre[38] both written as usual at the instance of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. The former a work in 18 chapters is an intelligible

Kannada prose rendering (tiiku) of the original Sanskrit text. It embodies a clear and popular exposition of philosophy of the lords message to Arjuna. The latter work is a champu in 12 chapters dealing with the story of Rukmangada as narrated in the Naradiya-purana. It is intended to inculcate the merits of the Ekadasi-vratam devoutly observed by Chikkadevaraja himself. The Vishnu purana is prose treatise in Kannada translated from the original work in the form of a dialogue between the sages Maitreya and Parasara.[39] It was written in 5 parts (amsa) each containing a varying number of chapters and the whole dealing namely with the philosophy of the principal incarnations of Vishnu. Lucid flowing and thoroughly enjoyable this work typifies the new model Hosagannada prose style that was evolved in Mysore towards the close of the 17th century. The Vishnu purana of Chikkupadhyaya has come down in 6parts in the champu from also[40] the prose version however being by far the more popular. Among other contributions of Chikkupadhyaya to the literature on Sri-Vaishnavism perhaps assignable to the same period are Tiruvaimoli-tiiku[41] a prose commentary in Kannada on the original Tamil tretise of the great Nammalavar and Padma purana-tiiku[42] a prose version in Kannada of the original Sanskrit work of that of that name. He is also credited[43] with having written the Amarika-sataka vaidyamruta-tiiku, Artha-panchaka and Tatva-traya. Timma kavi refers to himself[44] a Brahmana of Jamadagni gothra being an ardent devotee of God Venugopala. He was probably a disciple of a religious perception by name Gopala[45] he occupied an important place.

Mallikarjuna another Brahman poet of the period wrote a Kannada version of the Sriranga Mahatmye[46] at the instance of Chikkupadhyaya (Chikkupadhyaya prerita- mallikarjuna pranite) the work being completed on February 26 1678.[47] This is also a champu in 12 chapters and belongs to the same type of literature as the Mhatmye of Chikkupadhyaya and Timma-kavi. The subject matter however actually begins in the 3rd chapter the first being introductory chapters which besides the usual features contain a descriptive account in an ornate style of both the cities of Mysore and Srirangapattana under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Mallikarjuna refers to his work as a pleasing poem (mangala kavya). He is perhaps the most expressive and profile writer of the school of Chikkupadhyaya. His diction is sweet and majestic. He is however at his best in depicting nature and in delineating erotic sentiment.

Mallarasa (Mallarsanka-pandit) was another poet of the period. He was a Brahmana of Srivatsa gotra and Kamme-vamsa, son of Timmarasa-mantri by Tippambika disciple of Sadananda-guru and resident of Naravangala.[48] At the instance of Chikkupadhyaya he wrote the Dasavatara-charitre[49] (1680) another champu in 11 Chapters dealing with the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The poet speaks of the work as an epic (mahaprabanda). It is written in a melodious diction.

Tirumalarya (Tirumalaiyangar the minister) whose ancestry and official position we have else where detailed, occupied the foremost place among the scholars and poets of the court of Srirangapattana during the greater part of the reign of Chikadeavaraja Wodeyar.[50] He was celebrated

for his wide learning[51] and was known to have written numerous delightful works in Sanskrit and Kannada on the sastras, smrti and stotra narrative and epic poetry drama and poetics.[52] Indeed so profoundly did he and his younger brother Singararya himself testifies[53] to both of them had established themselves as the literary dictators of their day-learned in all the sastras skilled in the art of poetical composition and ever engaged in importing instruction in various branches of sacred tradition and in the abstruse doctrines of the two system of Vedanta (ubhaya-vedanta). Tirumalaryas works themselves in particular we learn had attained considerable popularity for the grandeur of sentiment declineated by him. They were often quoted too by his own contemporaries. [54]

Perhaps the earliest among the dated writings of Tirumalarya extent are the Tirumakudlu-Narasipur plates (1663)[55] and the Chamarajanagar plates (1675)[56] composed in the Sanskrit kavya style.

The next work of importance in Chikkadevaraja's name is the *Sachchudrachara Niranaya*[57] (Sri-Chikkadevamaharajyena praniteshu: Sri Chikkadevamaharaja krtishu sachchudrachara nirnaye) a treatise (maha-prabandha) in 14 chapters a (adhikara) defining and codifying the rites and practices for a good sudra. The introductory chapter upodghatadhikarah) begins with the usual invocation to Vishnu and deals with the pedigree and exploits of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. At the end of the last chapter is a long prose colophon recounting a series of titles of Chikkadevaraja which reflect his achievements and the outstanding political events of his reign. The latest

of these events incidentally referred to in both these chapters are Chikkadevarajas repulse of the invasion of Srirangapattana (1682) and his acquisition of Bangalore from Ekoji (1687). The poetical passages and the prose colophon included respectively in these parts of the works are evidently taken from the compositions of Ramayanam-Tirumalarya, such borrowing as is usual with royal authors, does not however mean here anything more than that the king refrains out of modesty from speaking in praise of his own ancestry or exploits. Again the Sachchudrachara-nirnaya is slightly later than the Srirangapattana temple copper-plate charter (1686) and almost contemporaneous with the Devanagara copper-plate grant (1686-1690) since the introductory chapter contains verses[58] which are found in both these documents it appears further to have preceded Chikkadevaraja's legislation relating to the arasu families in October 1690. We would not therefore be far wrong in assigning the work to about 1687-1690. The Sachchudrachara-nirnaya is a compilation in a mixture of prose (vachana) and poetry in Sanskrit the subject matter being taken from the 12 chapters of the Sana Mahatmye or the suta-samhita in the Skanda-purana.

It is supported also by illustrative references form the Vishnu-purana the Bhagavata and the manu-smruti. The work was we learn written with a view to bring about a much needed social reforms namely the uplift of sudras and the preservation intact of the ideal of Varnasrama-dharma applicable to them as members of the fourth order of Hindu society. The subject matter proper begins with invocation to Srisaila-Guru.

Singaramma wrote the Padmini-Kalyana (1685).[59] She belonged to a Sri-Vaishnava Brahmanical family being a daughter of Chintamani-Desikendra and disciple of Srinivasa-Desika. She was as already referred[60] to a young poetess favored by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. The Padmini-Kalyana is a Kannada poem also in the Sangatya metre describing the marriage between the god Srinavasa of Tirupathi and Padmini.[61]

By far the most important contribution to Vira-Shaiva literature during the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was Shadakshara deva (Shadakshariah) particulars of whose ancestery etc. we have else where noticed.[62] Shadaksharadeva, we learn[63] had attained celebrety and been honored by the cultured classes as an expert in the art of composing poems in the Sanskarit and Kannada languages. This writings generally belong to the period 1655-1700 although curiously enough there is nowhere any reference to therein to his actual position as one of the conditions of Chilladevaraja's cabinet. Among the extent works in Halagannada of Shadakshari are the Rajasekhara-Vilasa,[64] Vrishabendra Vijaya[65] and Sabarasankara Vilasa[66] all written in champu style. The earliest of these is the Rajasekhara-Vilasa. A Prabandha completed on January 30, 1655. It deals in 14 chapters with the story of how prince Rajasekhara son of a Satyendra Chola received capital punishment at the hands of his father for having caused the death of a child during his recreations in the streets of his capital city and how he ultimately obtained salvation at the hands of Siva. It is based on the original Tamil work of Tirugana-sambandar (Pillai-Nainar) first written in the form of an epic in Kannada by Gubbi-Mallararya (1513) in

his Bhavachintitarta.[67] A manuscript copy of the Rajasekhara Vilasa appears to have been actually completed on July 9, 1673 (Pramadicha Sravana su 6).[68] It was probably this copy which is said[69] to have been presented by Shadasharadeva at the court of Chikkadevaraja.

Another Sri-Vaishnava scholar at the court of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was Ramayanam Tirumalarya (or Tirumalacharya) of Koundinya gotra. He was by profession we note a reader of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata skilled in composing poems in Kannada and Telugu.

We may now examine some religious grants of the Wodeyars of Mysore in various places of Tamil Nadu as examples of cultural exchange between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.

Sri Vaishnavism continued to be popular in Mysoe during the reign. Kantirava was himself a dovot Vaishnava being well known for his predilections to god Lakshmikanta of Kalale and for his services to god Varadaraja of Kanchi.[70] While he continued the gifts and charities of his predecessors[71] he is in particular credited[72] with having sanctioned the construction in his name of a temple to god Bindu Madhava in Melkote and made grants of villages and lands for services to gods.

Srirangapattana during the reign of Kanthirava continued to be a flourishing center of social and public life. The spring festival (rasantatsava) of god Ranganatha there had acquired a reputation and popularity which was unique.[73] Another flourishing town of importance was Vamalur (modern

Omalur in salem district) under the jurisdiction of Kanthirava whose citizens were learned in the Vedas smrtis and sastras (sarvanagamasmrtisastra vidyah) and skilled in prose and poetical composition (sarvepihrdya ghatikasata-gadyapadyah) and whose cultured activities included among others disputations in sastras (sasrevadah) expounding of the sacred tradition (nikhillamnayaninadah) playing on the flute (vinavadah) and display of talents in poetry, philosophy and dialecties (kavitayavivaranam vedantokth paraMata dhvamsana vidhis.[74]

Of particular interest and significance from the point of view of literary and no less social life of the times is the Ananagavijaya Bhanah (1710-1712)[75] by Sivarama Krishna kavi of Gautama-gotra and son of Narayana by Rangambika a resident of Vamalur. It is a dramatic piece in Sanskrit intended to be enacted before a highly cultured and audience from far and near assembled at Vamalur on the occasion of the spring festival. In (April-May) of the local god Vijayaraghava a festival said to have been stopped for sometime but received by Chanakrishna-pandit, chief ministerial officer of Kanthirava under the orders of Krishnaraja son of Kanthirava and heir apparent (yuvaraja) to the throne of Mysore. The play begins with invocations to siva and Ananga (manmata) followed by the prologue (pras itavana) pointing to the time place, authorship and the circumstances under which it was written as mentioned above.

Vaeanandi-kalyana (1725-1730)[76] a poem in seven chapters in the sangatya metre describing the well-known traditional story of the marriage of

Varanandi daughter of Badshah of Delhi with the deity Chaluvarayaswami of Melkote during Sri-Ramanujacharyars time (12th century). The works begins with invocations to god venkatesa and parakala Guru in polished pure and sweet Kannada.

Varadaraja of Kanchi[77] another important member of the royal family who lived during the reign was Kempadevajamma (Devajamma) daughter of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and aunt of Krishnaraja. A lithic dated October 17 1718[78] registers a gift by her of anew car for the festival of God Kirti-Naryana at Talakad. From the point of view of domestic life it is interesting to learn that on August 5, 1717 Krishnaraja Wodeyar issued a nirupa to the members of the eighteen Arasu families permitting them to enter into matrimonial relations with the family of Chamaraja of Salem a descendant of Timmaraja of Ganganur.[79] This was obviously in pursuance of the earlier legislation of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar relating to the Arasu families which was maintained intact.

As part and parcel of his religion (vrata-dharma) Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar we learn[80] also established Agraharas at Seringpatam (paschimaranga) Karighatta (karigiri) Melkote (Yadavagiri) Sri-Sailam, Benaras (kari) Srirangam and Ramesuvaram (setu) with arrangements for the feeding of Brahmans and the payment of annuities to deserving families and provided for the worship of god Bindhu Madhava and Visvanatha of Benares and for the conduct of Ramanuja-kota (assembly of the followers of Ramanujacharya) at Srirangam. He also set up feeding houses (anna-satra)

throughout his kingdom and performed innumerable deeds of charity (such as the celebration of marriages, thread ceremonies etc) in aid of the poor and the needy.

Devaraja was like his predecessor, an ardent Vaishnava.[81] The palace copper-plates[82] in particular speak of his devotion to god Ranganatha of Srirangapattana. From other records[83] we learn that he used daily to raise at dawn contemplate and worship the lords feet of Vishnu reputing without omission. His thousand names then perform oblations to fore and having bestowed gifts of cows and money on the Brahmans listen to the recited of the puranas and sacred stories. In keeping with this we have contemporary work chaupadada-pustaka (c. 1670) generally depicting Devaraja Wodeyar getting up at dawn taking his bath wearing shining silken garnments putting the tika of musk on his forehead performing the morning rites. Toleration was as usual a prominent feature of Devarajas religion. He bestowed difficult varied and innumerable gifts (vividhan amanushan dharman amita yasaya dharmah) at S. Srirangam, Tirupathi (Venkatasaila) Melkote (Yadavgiri) Kanchi (hastigiri) Ramesvaram (setu) the banks of the Gautami (or Godavari) Allahabad (prayaga) Benares (varanasi) Gaya and Srirangapattana (pure Rangadhamah) constructed wells, ponds and temples (rapi-kepatatakan...devagrham devasthanam) established groves, watersheds and feeding houses from road to road (marge-marge sadvanai prapascha marge-marge prapascha strani) furnishing each village with a feeding house for the free distribution of food (grame-grame bhuri-mrstanna-satrum) and arranged for the conduct of daily festivals in the temples

bestoring villages as donations therefore (devasthanan yutsavantesu nityam......tadarthamdatvagraman). He is further referred to as utilizing the spoils of war for making gifts to Brahmans for rewarding his friends and for providing ornaments to his queens.

1678[84] refers to the presentation of the images of Dvarapalakas to the temple of Chamaraja-perumal (Channakesava) at Rayadurga (sankhagiri also called kunnattur-durga) by agent Muddaiya agent of Nanjanathaiya an officer of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. A third dated April 7 1679[85] records the setting up and consecration of the images of subramanya and the Aravattumuvar (the 63 Saiva saints) in the temple of kailsanatha at Taramangalam (Vamakur taluk Salem district by Kempaiya son of samaiya (chamiya) agent of Chikkadevaraja.

Among the extant records of the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (most of which especially the copper plate grants issued by him bear his signature in Kannada as Sri Chikkadevarajah and are impressed with the boar seal) a lithic one on an anicut at Dodda-belur Salem district dated in 1673[86] refers to its construction by Kumaraiya (kumara raja) Dalavai of Chikkadevaraj. Another dated April 18 1673[87] records the erection of a temple to Gauramma at Channarayapatna by Basaiya son of Doddaiya a feudatory of Chikkadeva.

Sri Vaishnavism continued to be popular in Mysore during the reign. Kantirava was himself a devot Vaishnava, being wellknown for his

predilections to God Lakshmikata of Kalale and for his services to God Varadaraja of Kanchi.

A lithic record dated May 14, 1717 registers a grant by Krishnaraja of 3,600 Varahas being the income from Twelve villages in the Virabhadra Durga Sime for the expenses of conducting a service to God Kanchi Varadaraja through the agency of Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar.

Another dated in 1718 referred to Krishnaraja as having got built the temple of God Gopala at Tali in Salem district.

A lithic record dated October 17, 1718 registers a gift by her of a new car for the festival of God Kirti Narayana at Talkad. From the point of view of domestic life it is interesting to learn that on August 5th, 1717, Krishnaraja Wodeyar issued a nirupa to the members of the eighteen Arasu families permitting them to enter in to matrimonial relations with the family of Channaraja of Salem a descent of Timmaraja of Ganganur. This was obviously in presence of the earlier legislation of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar relating to the Arasu families which was mentioned intact.

The Tondanur plate 1722 speakes of Krishnaraja as having caused Agraharas to be established and Vaishnava temples to be repaired in the names of royal ladies. Deviramma and Chaluvajamma grand mother and mother of Krilshnaraja Wodeyar the Kanchi Mata charter (1724) elsewhere referred to alludes to their gifts to God Varadaraja of Kanchi.

A copper plate charter from the Kanchi Mata at Tondanur, dated December 30, 1724 to the visit to Srirangapattana of a Sri Vaishnava scholar by name Ramanuja Yati Savmja Jamatri from Kanchi and records how Krishnaraja having heard from him the glory of Hastigiri (Kanchi) not only confirmed the gifts of his father Kantirava and of his mother and grand mother (Chaluvajamma and Deviramma) to God Varadaraja (the presiding deity of the place) but also made his own grants for offerings to shrine at the three seasons and the Vaishaka festival and for the provisions of Mantapas groves, ponds etc., together with twelve villages in the neighbourhood of Virabhadra Durga in the Karimangala country.

The Kanchi Mata charter (1724) elsewhere referred to alludes to their gifts to God Varadaraja of Kanchi.

Among the extent records of Krishnaraja Wodeyar a copper plate charter dated in 1734 registers a gift of lands by him to the temple of Tiruchanagodu.

A lithic record of about 1756 from Bhavani-Kudal registers the erection by Devarajaiah of a mantapa in the local Ishwara temple.

Another dated in 1756 relates to the execution of repairs to the various parts of the temple of Avinaswara at Avanasi and the setting up of a Linga called Sankareswara in the South East corner thereof by Gruikar Sankaraiah an official under Devarajaiah at Coimbatore.

A copper plate inscription from Karamnadai dated in 1757 records the grant by Devarajaiah of the village of Bhusurapallam (Bhoosara Palyam) to Brahmana's.

A lithic record of about 1758 referres to a gift of lands by Krishnaraja Wodeyar to the temple of Perundalaiyur.

In 1760 copper plate charters recording the respectively a grant to the Shiva temple in Sathyamangalam and gift of lands in Puttur, Kaniyur and Kuntur villages.

On a stone setup under a Margosa tree on the way to river Bhavani Shivaya Palaiyam, Sathyamangalam Taluk, Coimbatore district.

This is dated Saka 1591 Sowmya, Pushya ba.7 corresponding to A.D. 1670 January 3, Monday in the reign of the Mysore King Devaraja Vodeya. The king is stated to have made a gift of the village Bestarapalya surnamed Komarapura for the service of God Dhavalagiri-Kumaraswamy in the Durvasa Kshetra at the confluence of the rivers Chintamani and Bhavani. The village granted was situated in Karavali Hobli in Sathyamangala stala, which was a subdivision of Udavanka Nadu below the Yenar Pass.

From the above study we may draw few general conclusions. First Tamil Sri-Vaishnavavism was a very significant link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu during the period of our study. Many rulers of the Wodeyars dynasty were influenced by Tamil Srivaishnavism had come to the region of Mysore in the 12th century. A.D. under the Hoysalas Ramanujacharya had

migrated to the Mysore region when he was persecuted by the Cholas. He had stayed for many years in the region Vishnuvardhana the greatest ruler of the Hoysala dynasty became his disciple. The Vijayanagara rulers particularly of the Aravidu dynasty patronized Tamil Srivaishnavism in the region. The Wodeyars of Mysore continued this tradition and Tamil Srivaishnavism became a vital cultural link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.

Secondly, during the period of our study Parakala Mata emerged as a symbol of the cultural relationship originally this Mata was established in Tamil Nadu. The Mata had in its own tradition the link with Ramanujacharya and Vedantadeshika of Tamil Nadu. The founder of the Mata was the disciple of Vedantadesika Lakshmi Hayagriva was the presiding diety of the Mata its philosophy was called to Srivaishnvism traditions in Tamil Nadu 1) Vedic tradition in Sanskrit as interpreatated by Ramanujacharya. 2) Srivaishnava tradition was preached by the 12 famous Alvars. These Alvars taught, sing and wrote works in Tamil language called Prabhadams. The Parakal Mata respected the Sanskrit and Tamil traditions of Srivaishnavavism Vedanta desika was the greatest teacher philosopher of Ubhaya Vedanta. The Tamil Srivaishnava group which supported the Sanskrit tradition only was called Vadagalai sect and the group supported the Tamil tradition of Alvars only was called Tenkalai sect they were rivals in Tamil Nadu. But the Parakala Mata respected the both the traditions called Ubhaya Vedanta. The Wodeyars patronized this Mata which had migrated to Mysore from Kanchi via Srirangapattana. The copper plate grants found in

Tamil Nadu belong to this Mata testify to the existence of cultural links between Mysore and Tamil Nadu during the period of our study.

Thirdly, Melukote continued to be most important sacred place of Tamil Srivaishnavism in Mysore. A number of inscriptions record the rich donations in land and gold to the temples of this holy place Srivaishnava from Tamil Nadu controlled their temples and properity in Melukote Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was a staunch devotee of Chaluvanaryana of Melukote. His devotion is expressed in his Kannada work entitled Chikkadevaraja Binnapa. Tondanur near Melukote was a large settlement of Srivaishnava Brahmins and others it had a large tank called Motitalab.

Fourthly, Tamil Srivaishnavism had a deep impact on Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. It was a source of influence to organize Mysore society on some liberal principles. It was during his reign satshudras and the 18 families of Arasu community emerged in Mysore society. The impact of Ramanujacharya may be noticed in his attempt at social reform in Mysore.

Fifthly, the period of the Wodeyars of Mysore was a landmark in the history of Kannada literature. Tamil Srivaishnava scholars composed famous works in Kannada related to Srivaishnavism and its holy places in Mysore and Tamil Nadu. There was a flow of Bhakti literature around Tamil Srivaishnavism in Kannada Chikkupadhaya and Tirumalarya were outstanding Tamil Srivaishnava Brahmin scholars of the period. They wrote works on famous Srivaishnava holy places in Tamil Nadu in Kannada like

Kanchi and Srirangam their mother tongue was Tamil but they wrote in Kannada. Thus they acted as bridge between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.

Lastly, innumerable religious grants discovered in Mysore and Tamil Nadu were the grants made by the Wodeyars of Mysore to various temples in Tamil Nadu. These religious grants may be studied as an instrument of the State policy of Wodeyars of Mysore. They helped to consolidate the political control over many regions in Tamil Nadu by the Wodeyars of Mysore. We may present some general conclusion which emerged from the entire study in the next chapter.

Notes and references

1. See *Sachchu. Nir.*, ff. 12-13.
2. *Annals,* I, p.129.
3. *Ibid.,* p.129-130.
4. *Epigraphia Indica,* Volume, XXIV part VII, July, 1940, pp. 318-326.
5. See *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* 20: *Annals,* I, pp. 40-42 ; Devachandra, *Raj. Kath.,* XII, p.465.
6. See for instance *I.M.C.,* No 15-20 pp 23-24, 26-27 referring to Raja Wodeyar's services to the temple of Ranganath during 1600-1616 also C. Vam. 9, 15
7. *Mys.Raj. Cha.,* I.C: *Annals,* I 41: also *C. Vam.,* 9.
8. See *M.A.R.,* pp 21, 58.
9. *C.Vam.,* 32: also see and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* 21: *Annals,* I, p.49.
10. *Annals,* I , 50: see also *Mys Dho. Pur.,* I. p. 61.

11. See *Raj. Kath.,* (XII. 469) which speaks of Chamaraja as having had sons one of whom was named Devaraja (Devarajam modalada Kumararum padedu) the Annals and the *Mys. Dho.Pur.,* are silent on this point.

12. See *C.Vam,* 118. C. VI III 78: also of n. 85 infra.

13. *K.N.V.,* VII 96: v 112 etc.

14. *C. Vam.,* 117, 121, 125-135, 138, 147, 149, 152, 156.

15. *C. Vam.,* 39: C.vi, III 24-26, Kamand. Ni, I 62-63: *Sri Mahat.,* I 26-27 *Bhag. Gi. Ti.,* I 45-46: *Pasch. Mahat.,* I 38-139 *Kamala Mahat.,* I 103-104: *Yad. Mahat.,* II 46-48 etc.

16. *M.A.R.,* 1930 No 25.(1656) pp 163-166, See also Ch IX f.n 165 and 168. It was probably this grant which was confirmed and extended by Devaraja in 1663- vide fin 116 Supra and text thereto.

17. See *M.A.R.,* I. C from which it would seem Amritamma had died some time before 1668. The annals (I. 103,138) is rather confused and contradictory on the point. In the absence of decisive evidence, we would not, in the light of inscriptions (dated in 1656 and 1668) above referred to be far wrong in placing her death somewhere between 1656 and 1665.

18. *E.C.,* III (I) Sr. 83.

19. See *C. Vam.,* 104-160, 166-184: C. VI, III And IV also Ch X of this work under Domestic life.

20. See *Y.N. Stavah,* etc, p. 96 vv. 2-4, p.100, v. 3; col, to Kamala. Mahat, Pasch. Mahat, Yad. Mahat, Sri Mahat., Su Sap Mbh. Santi and Salyaparva and C. VI; also Sachchu. Nir, I, 63; E.C. III (1) Sr. 14, II

74-75, etc. The Kamala. Mahat.(III, 30-63) contains also an elaborate account of Chikkadevaraja's visit to Devanagara on the banks of the Kaundini(c.1677-1678), and of his devotion to God Paravasudeva there.

21. *E.C. Mys Dist. Suppl.,* Vol. My. II 5, 11. 112-116.

22. *E.C. Mys. Dist Suppl.,* Vol. Sr. 287 (M.A.R. 1908. P. 23 para 76)

23. *C.B.I.,* pp. 1-59, For specific references See infra.

24. *Ibid.,* pp. 9-13, 14-15, 17-18, 19-20, 21-22, 23-25, 28-29, 30-36, 37-39.

25. *Ibid.,* pp. 42-43, 44-52, 53-57.

26. *Ibid.,* pp. 10-11, 13-15, 17-18, 20-22, 24-27, 29, 31, 36, 39, 41, 43-44, 46, 48-50, 52-57.

27. *Gi, Go.,* pp. 2-3 uv 10-11.

28. *Ibid.,* pp. 47-48

29. *M.S.* Nos. B.38 and p. 42 in *Mys. Or. Lib.*

30. *M.S.* No B. 61, p.61, *Mys. Or. Lib.*

31. *M.S.* No 18-4-18, p. 4-18.

32. *M.S.* No 13. p. 270 *Mys. Or. Lib.*

33. M.S. No 18-6 II p. 18-6.

34. M.S. No 18-21-16. p. 16, *Mad. Or. Lib.*

35. Pub. In the Karnataka-kavya-kalanidhi series, No. 33 (G.T.A. press, Mysore, 1911)- see XIV, 124: Pingala samvatsara phalgunamala nahapakshastani; also item No 74 (P.L.Ms) of the CAT. Kan. Mss. In the Mad. Or, Lib; see also and compare Kar . Ka. Cha. (II. 486, 478-480) which places the work in or before 1672 on the ground that a copy

of it was made in Virodhikrit (1672). Possibly Virodhikrit is a scribal error for virodhi (1709).

36. Vide Ch XI,f,n. 57 and 63, for details. The *Kar.Ka. Cha.*(II.468)

37. See Colophon to the work quoted in *Kar.Ka.Cha.* II 483: Karnataka vachana-rachanabhidhanamada Yadugiri-Mahatmyedol.

38. *M.S.* NO. K. 466- P.L.; Mys. Or. Lib.

39. *M.S.* No. 18-5-18 P.L.; Mad. Or.Lib.; also B.41-P.; Mys. Or. Lib; see also and compare Kar.Ka. Cha.(II. 467-468, 475-477).

40. See Colophon to each part of the published work: Maitreya-Parasara-samvada rupamada Sri-Vishnu-Pur. navembaprabandha.

41. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* II 477-478.

42. *Ibid.,* 467, 489-490.

43. *M.A.R.* 1933, pp. 107-108.

44. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 467.

45. *Yad.Mahat.,* I, 21; Pasch. Mahat. I, II:

46. See *Yad. Mahat.,* I 26; *Chikkadevendra-Vam,* v. 10

47. *M.S.* No 13. 52- P: Mys or Lib: see also and compare Kar. Ka. Cha. II. pp. 498, 500.

48. *Ibid.,* p. 498.

49. *Dasavatara-Charitre*, I, 25-26; also colophon.

50. *M.S.* No. B. 98-p; Mys. Or. Lib; see also and compare Kar. Ka. Cha. II. 510-513.

51. *Mitra. Go.,* I, p. 4(vachana): Pandita-Kavi- mandala-khandalar.

52. *Ibid.,* pp. 2-4 : See also *Raj. Kat.,* XII. 474.

53. *Ibid.,* p. 4 (vachana)

54. *Ibid.,* I 13, p.5

55. *Ibid.,* I, 10 (p.3), quoting from the C. Vi. (V, 106) and the A.V.C.(III,46); also works of Chikkadevaraja and inscriptions composed by Ramayanam-Tirumalarya, noticed below.

56. *E.C.* III (I) TN. 23; see also Ch. X, f.n. 169.

57. *Ibid.,* IV (2) Ch. 92- see II. 106-107

58. *M.S.* No A. 431-p: *Mys. Or. Lib.*

59. Compare for instance Sachchu Nir I 25-27, 37, 40, 50, 60-63, with E.C. III (I) Sr. 14, 11, 34-41, 50-53, 56-59, 62-65, 65-67, also I 12-25, 28-32, 44-47, 50, 60-62, with E.C. Mys Dist suppl. Vol My II 5, 11, 21- 44, 46-53, 55-63, 77-83, 83-85, 86-95.

60. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, p. 517.

61. *Ante,* Ch. XIII see under position of women: also *Kar.Ka. Cha.* I. C.

62. *Kar. Ka.Cha.,* II, p. 517.

63. Vide under Council of Ministers, in Ch. XII

64. See colophons to Shadaksharadeva's works See also *Raj. Kath,* XII.474

65. *M.S.* No. K. 67 And 357- P.L.; Mys. Or. Lib; also published work in the Mys. Or. Lib.; see also and compare Kar. Ka. Cha. II. 442-446.

66. *M.S.* No. K. 406- P.L.; Mys. Or. Lib.; see also and compare Ibid, 442, 446-447.

67. *M.S.* Nos. 67 and 357- P.L.; Mys. Or. Lib.; see also and compare Ibid, 442, 448- 449.

68. *Kar. Ka. Cha.,* II. 443.

69. *M.S.* No. K67 (reffered to in f.n. 171 supra) ff. 113, V 185.

70. *Raj. Katha.,* (XII. 482, XI. 393,) where Devachandra speaks of shadakshari as having been well aquainted with leelavathi and other narrative poems (vastuka kavya) and refers to his (shadakshari) presentation of a copy of the Rajeshekara - vilasa to Chikkadevaraja and to his being honoured with grants of Mats, rent free lands, etc., on the latters appriciation of it.

71. *E.C.,* III (1) Sr. 100 (1724) II. 142 - 145 where Krishnaraja I (1714 1732) alludes in general to the pious services of his father (Kanteeravea II to God Varadaraja of Kanchi).

72. *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* 33: Annals I 157.

73. *Annals,* I, pp. 157 - 158.

74. *Ibid.,* pp. 54-55 (Text) from the sringararajathilaka bharah (P30) we learn that the last year in which the vernal festival was cellebrated in Seringapatnam was 1780 (Vilambi) for particulars about this work vide Ch III below.

75. *Ibid.,* prologue PP 1-2 Vamalur (now spelt Omalur) a village in the present Salem district.

76. *M.S.* No. 12, 431 of the Des. Cat. Sans. Mss. (Vol. XXI) in the Mad. Or. Lib. The page references cited here are from an authenticated copy of this Ms, obtained from the Library.

77. *M.S.* No. 80- P.L. Mys. Or. Lib: see also and compare Kar. Ka. Cha. III 22-25.

78. *Ibid.*, Sr. 100 II. 146-149. See also E.C. III (1) P. 29 Translation) does not seem to be in keeping with the text.

79. *Ibid.*, T.N.18 Vilambi. Kartika Su 5, Friday.

80. *Annals*, I. 163: cf Wilks I preface P. XXIV.

81. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 103 (1647) II 49-53 K.N.V. XXVI 31-39 See also f.n. 63 infra and text thereto.

82. *E.C.*, XII Kg. 37 and III (1) TN. 23 (1663), II. 97-98 and 15-16: Sri-Narayana pada-pankajayuge vinyasta vishvagbharah; IV (2) Yd. 54 (1666), p. 156 (Text): Sada Hari-parayane hrdi-nivista Narayanah.

83. *E.C.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol. My. 114. (1663), 1. 32: Rangesa-seva-nirato, See also Kamand. Ni. (c. 1676), I, 65: Ranganatha paddravindra-bandhura seva, niratam.

84. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 37 (1663), II. 68-70:

85. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14. II. 41-43.

86. *M.E.R.*, 1930. p.51.

87. *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 75.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapters, we have made an attempt to describe various aspects of relations between Mysore and Tamil Nadu. In all, three broad areas have been covered in the history of the relations between the two regions with references to political, economic and cultural areas. They have revealed peaceful relationships. We may briefly state that some general conclusions have emerged from the entire study.

To start with, in the history of political relations between Mysore and Tamil Nadu, the period from 1610 to 1673 was a landmark. During that period, Raja Wodeyar the first Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I and Devaraja Wodeyar figured prominently in the political relationship. The decline of Vijayanagara after 1565 provided an opportunity for those rulers to expand the kingdom of Mysore towards Tamil Nadu. The Southern expansion was natural because in the north and west Mysore, there were formidable enemies. Bijapur and the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara in the north and the Nayakas of Keladi in the west prevented the expansion in that direction.

Madura was the focal point of relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu during 1619-1673. The Nayaks of Madura like Muttuveerappa I, Tirumala Nayaka and Chokkanatha Nayaka played a very important role. Muttuveerappa I had relations with Mysore under

Chamaraja - V king in 1619. Tirumala Nayaka of Madura (1623-1659) was a contemporary of Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I. He insighted and supported the chief of Sambali against Mysore between 1641-1642. He proved disloyal to Sriranga VI the Aravidu of Vijayanagara Kingdom. Tirumala Nayaka followed the anti-imperial policy with special reference to Mysore. Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura (1659-1682) was a contemporary of Devaraja Wodeyar of Mysore. He followed hostile relations with Mysore up to 1667. Chokkanatha Nayaka took a leading part in the siege of Erode in 1667. In 1668, Chokkanatha Nayaka submitted to Mysore. Erode was another focal point in the political relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu during June 1667. Dalavoy Kumariah took possession of Erode. Erode became the base of operations for further penetration into Tamil Nadu. For example in Nov. 1667, Dharapuram was taken by Dalavoy Kumariah. Likewise, he took in Feb. 1668 Vamalur, Kamalur and Sambalipura from Ghatta Mudaliar. It was a very important development in the history of political relations between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.

Secondly, one of the important developments in the history of political relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu was the march of Mysore army up to Tirichinapally under Dalavoy Kumariah. Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura was forced to submit to Mysore army. Dalavoy Kumariah of Kalale collected horses, cash and costly jewels form Chokkanatha. Inscriptions found in Salem and Coimbatore districts recorded the political achievements of Mysore. Dalavoy Kumariah of Kalale in a way laid the

foundation for Kalale. That was Nanjarajiah's policy towards Tirichinapally in the 18th century.

The period from 1610-1673 was a formative period in the political relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu. That period laid the foundation for further expansionist programme of Mysore. All too soon, Madura, Erode, Dharapuram, Vamalur were the focal points.

Thirdly, it is significant to note that the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar witnessed a bitter contest for overlordship in Tamil Nadu between Mysore and Marathas. The contest had some serious implications on Mysore. Mysore claimed the tradition of overlordship over Tamil Nadu as an inheritance from Vijayanagara rulers. But the rise of the Marathas in the Deccan during that period was a challenge to the expansion towards Tamil Nadu. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar had to face opposition from three main Maratha leaders namely Ekoji the son of Shahji and Shivaji also a son of Shaji and Sambhaji son of Shivaji.

Madura, Tanjore and Tirichinapally emerged as the flash points in Tamil Nadu, where Mysore and Marathas contested for supremacy. Madura was still under the Nayakas but their power had declined to the lowest level. Tanjore had been the headquarters of the Maratha power under Ekoji and his successors. Tirichinapally was a strategic place. Mysore kept an eye on Tirichinapally in order to establish control over Tamil Nadu. Ekoji had established himself at Tanjore. Mysore and Maratha

contest was not only inevitable but also bitter. Erode was the base of the Wodeyars of Mysore in Tamil Nadu.

In pursuit of his political ambition, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar came into conflict with Madura Chokkanatha Nayaka who was the ruler of Madura. It is interesting to note that on 5th day after his installation on the throne, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar marched against Madura and captured the forts in Tamil Nadu namely, Dulikote, Malai, Mataanagatti and Paramatti and Salem. They fought a war at Madhuvana on the borders of the forest region of Sadmangalam. Chikkadevaraja's victory was highly significant. He took other forts near Sadamangalam namely Ananthagiri Araliyur, Toreyur and Dharapuram in the Kongunadu. The chiefs of those places were forced to pay tribute. He returned to Srirangapattana at the end of 1673. The march on Madura and other places in Tamil Nadu was significant. And Chikakadevaraja Wodeyar issued the new types of coins commemorating the event.

Fourthly, between 1676-1686 Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar had to face a bitter contest with the Marathas in Tamil Nadu. Bangalore was their base until it was purchased by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Bangalore was the Jahagir of Shaji in 1676. Ekoji was established at Tanjore. He was trying to capture Tirichinapally the power of the Nayaka of Madura namely Chokkanatha was detaining. Bijapur Sultan did not like the Marathas to establish their power in Tamil Nadu particularly at Tanjore. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar found himself insecure at his border of his kingdom. The

Marathas' emergence in Tamil Nadu was a source of unhappiness for Mysore in pursuing its political ambitions. The power struggle between Ekoji and Santaji in Tamil Nadu led to Shivajis expedition in 1667. Shivaji occupied Madras, Jinje, Tanjore and Vellore. He settled the problem between Santaji and Ekoji. While he was returning from Tamil Nadu, he had a conflict with ChikkadevarajaWodeyar near Srirangapattana. It is said that he defeated Shivaji and assumed the title Apratimavira. It shows how the Maratha's invasion in Tamil Nadu during the period created problems for Mysore.

Chokkanatha of Madura made an attempt to secure Tanjore by utilizing the political rivalry between the Maratha brothers namely Ekoji and Shantaji but the attempt of Chokkanath was a failure because the Maratha brothers united against him. In order to help Chokkanath, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar sent Dalavoy Kumaraiya to Tamil Nadu Sambhaji was the ruler at that time. The main aim of Mysore was to establish supremacy in Tamil Nadu and Tirichinapally. That was the objective of the southern advance of Mysore. Dalavoy Kumariya's occupation of Tirichinapally was the height of the policy but the Marathas were alarmed by the ambition of the Mysoreans in Tamil Nadu. They attacked Srirangapattana in 1682 and Kumariya had to rush to Srirangapattana to help Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar fight the Marathas. But on the way Kumariya was defeated by the Marathas. He was captured and later on released and returned to Srirangapattana. He retired from the office of Dalavoy. Mysore lost all those bases in Tamil Nadu. The Mysore policy of Madura was not successful.

Fifthly, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyars' policy towards Tamil Nadu was a continuation of the policy followed by the early Wodeyars up to 1673. In short Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar followed anti-Maratha pro-Madura, pro-Mughal after 1686 and anti-Keladi policies in order to realize his aims of establishing the supremacy of Mysore in Tamil Nadu. Till 1686, Adil Shahis of Bijapur were rivals of Mysore in the politics of Tamil Nadu. One important point to be remembered is that Tirichinapally had always remained important for the diplomatic relations of Mysore in Tamil Nadu politics. Madura and Tirichinapally continued to be targets of the political ambition of Mysore in the 18th century.

Madura and Tirichinapally were focal points in the relationship between Mysore and Tamil Nadu in the 18th century. Madura had always been the object of conquest by the rulers of Mysore. It was nothing but the southern expansion of Mysore towards Tamil Nadu. Madura was the capital of the Nayakas during the Vijayanagara period. In the beginning of 18th century, the Nayaka rule at Madura was declining and a power vacuum was created. To fill this political vacuum, powers of Tamil Nadu, the Deccan and Mysore became rivals. As a result of this situation conflicts forming alliances emerged.

Sixthly, Mysore under Karachuri Nanjarajaiah and Kalale Devarajiah had become a very significant power in South India. Madura was not only a Hindu power center, but also a holy place for the Hindus. It was the ambition of Nanjarajiah to conquer Madura for Mysore or to keep it under

Hindu rule. When Meenakshi of Madura was over-thrown the Nawab of Arcot became supreme at Madura. The situation resulted in the interference of Mysore in Madura in Tamil Nadu. In the policy of Mysore towards Madura, we notice three different stages.

1. Pro-Madura and anti-Nawab of Arcot policy.
2. Pro-Maratha and anti-Nawab of Arcot policy.
3. Pro- Nizam and anti-Maratha policy.

The three policies of Mysore continued up to 1743. The attempt of Mysore to keep Madura either under Nayaka rule or under Mysore did not succeed. The attempt of the Marathas to keep Madura under their control also failed. In 1743, Marathas were defeated and the Nizam placed Anwar-uddin in control of Madura and Tirichinapally.

Seventhly, as fall out of the policy of Mysore towards Madura, Karachuri Nanjarajiah had to face Maratha danger in Morosunadu which was border of Mysore kingdom. Morosunadu was a strategic region in Kolar disrict. It was the corridor or meeting place of Mysore, Tamil Nadu and Andhra. The Marathas wanted to establish a military base in Morosunadu in order to control Tamil Nadu. Mysore formed an alliance with the Nizam of Hyderbad in order to drive the Marathas from Morosunad. In 1747, the famous battle of Devanahalli was fought and the Marathas were defeated.

After Madura, Tirichinapally became the focal point in Mysore. Tamil Nadu relations starting from 1744 onwards. Tirichinapally as the

Southern-most limit of expansion of the Kingdom of Mysore engaged the attention of Karachuri Nanjarajiah. Mysore had bases in Tamil Nadu like Dharanagar, Dindigal, Salem and Coimbatore. Nanjarajiah used the bases for the conquest of Tirichinapally from 1751 to 1755. Nanjarajiah played a leading role in the foreign politics of the period. Trichinapally dominated his military and diplomatic policy of annexing it to Mysore was a failure. It is said that the Spanish ulcer ruined Napolean. In the same way, it may be said that Tirichinapally ulcer ruined Nanjarajiah and crores of rupees of Mysore Treasury disappeared in the adventure of Tirichinapally. The Tirichinapally adventure provided an opportunity for the rise of Hyder Ali in Mysore and forced Nanjarajiah to quit politics.

Eighthly, Muhammad Ali, Murari Rao, the English and the French cheated Nanjarajiah from keeping Tirichinapally for Mysore. All of them exploited Nanjarajiah. The English did not honour the provision of the secret treaty between Muhammad Ali and Nanjarajiah relating to Tirichinapally. They argued that Tirichinapally overlordship belonged to the Mughals and the Nizam. Murari Rao exploited Nanjarajiah and in the end abandoned him. Murari Rao himself secretly wanted to keep Tirichinapally for himself. Dupleix also used Nanjarajiah against the English and abandoned him in 1754, when he was called back to France. His successor General Godeheu concluded the peace treaty with the English which was disastrous to Nanjarajiah. Madura and Tirichinapally remained a dream for the policy makers of Mysore in 18th century.

Ninthly, a region controlled by the Wodeyars of Mysore was in continuous contact with Tamil powers in Pre-Wodeyar period. In the pre-Wodeyar's period Tamil powers drew the resources from the present day Mysore, Chamarajanagar, Mandya, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur districts. But in the Wodeyar's period, the rulers of Karnataka region drew resources from parts of Tamil Nadu in the South and the East and the political relations of Mysore with Tamil Nadu in the 18th century led to economic relations. Merchants followed the conquerors. The Wodeyar's of Mysore had three types of income from Tamil Nadu 1) War booty 2) Tribute paid by Palegars of Tamil Nadu regions 3) Import and export duties levied by the Mysore government on the movement of goods between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.

Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar issued coins which facilitated the growth of trade between two regions. The coins of Mysore were circulated in different parts of Tamil Nadu. It is interesting to know that the gold coins issued by Kalale Nanjarajiah is preserved in Tanjore museum under the control of Tamil university. It indicates that his coins were also used in Tamil regions. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar also introduced reforms in weights and measures and it helped trade and commerce between Mysore and Tamil Nadu. It may be pointed out that in the 17th and 18th centuries, there was no modern means of communications. Trade and commerce depended on human and animal power and carts were used wherever possible. The Mysore kingdom was surrounded by

mountains. They separated kingdom from Tamil regions. That did not prevent the economic relations between the two regions.

The interesting episode related to the construction of dam by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar indicated an aspect of economic relations between two regions. We may point out that Erode, Dindigal, Coimbatore, Salem, Madura, Dharmapuri and Tirichinapally as well as Arcot in the east were important centers of economic relations with Mysore. Likewise Gundalpet, Terakanambi, Kollegala, Channapatna, Kanakapura, Anekal, Hoskote and Hosur were important points of economic contact with Tamil Nadu on the side of Karnataka region.

The purchase of Bangalore by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar from the Mughals was an important landmark in the economic relations between the two regions. Devanahalli was also a famous link in the trade route. The economic relations which followed the political conquest increased the wealth of the Wodeyars of Mysore in the 17th and 18th centuries. Haidar Ali's economic prosperity was due to the political position he enjoyed in Tamil regions under Dalavoy Nanjarajiah of Mysore. But the tragedy was that the wealth so accumulated by Mysore was ultimately lost in the Tirichinapally adventure as well as by making payments to the Marathas, Sultans of Bijapur as well as the European powers.

Tenthly, Tamil Srivaishnavism was a very significant link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu during the period of our study. Many rulers of the Wodeyars' dynasty were influenced by Tamil Srivaishnavism. They came to

the region of Mysore in the 12th century A.D. under the Hoysalas. Ramanujacharya had migrated to the Mysore region when he was persecuted by the Cholas. He had stayed for many years in the region Vishnuvardhana, the greatest ruler of the Hoysala dynasty. The king became his disciple. The Vijayanagara rulers particularly of the Aravidu dynasty patronized Tamil Srivaishnuvism in the region. The Wodeyars of Mysore continued that tradition and Tamil Srivaishnuvism became a vital cultural link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.

During the period of our study Parakala Mata emerged as a symbol of the cultural relationship. Originally the Mata was established in Tamil Nadu. The Mata had in its own tradition the links with Ramanujacharya and Vedanta Deshika of Tamil Nadu. The founder of the Mata was the disciple of Vedantadesika Lakshmihayagriva as the presiding deity of the Mata had its philosophy. It was called Ubhayavedanta. Ubhayavedanta had harmoniously combined to Srivaishnavas traditions in Tamil Nadu, the vedic tradition in Sanskrit as interpreted by Ramanjacharya. Srivashanava tradition was preached by the 12 famous Alavars. These Alvars taught, sang and wrote works in Tamil language called prabhadams. The Parakala Mata respected the Sanskrit and Tamil traditions of Srivaishnavism.

Vedantadeshika was the greatest teacher, philosopher of Ubhayavedanta. The Tamil Srivaishnava group which supported the Sanskrit tradition only was called Vadagalai sect and the group was supported the Tamil tradition of Alvars Tenkalai sect and were rivals in

Tamil Nadu. The Parakala Mata respected both the traditions called Ubhayavedanta. The Wodeyars patronized the Mata which had migrated to Mysore from Kanchi via Tirupati and Srirangapattana. The copper plates grants found in Tamil Nadu belonged to the Mata testify to the existence of a cultural link between Mysore and Tamil Nadu during the period of our study.

Melukote continued to be the most sacred place of Tamil Srivashnavism in Mysore. A number of inscriptions have recorded the rich donations in land and gold to the temples in holy places. Srivaishanava Brahmin from Tamil Nadu controlled their temples and property in Melukote. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was a staunch devotee of Chalavanarayana of Melukote. His devotion is expressed in his Kannada work entitled Chikkadevaraja Binappa. Tondanur near Melukote was a large settlement of Srivaishnava Brahmins and it had a large tank called Motitalab.

Tamil Srivaishnavism had a deep impact on Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. It was a source of influence to organize Mysore society on some liberal principles. It was during his reign, Satshudras and the 18th families of Arasu community emerged in Mysore society. The impact of Ramanjacharya might be noticed in his attempt of social reforms in Mysore. The period of the Wodeyars of Mysore was a landmark in the history of Kannada literature. Tamil Srivaishnava scholars composed famous works in Kannada to Srivaishnavism and its holy places in Mysore and Tamil Nadu. There was a flow of Bhakti literature around Tamil Srivaishnavism in

Kannada. Chikopadhaya and Tirumalaraya were outstanding Tamil Srivaishnava Brahmins scholars of the period. They wrote works on famous Srivaishnava holy places in Tamil Nadu like Kanchi and Srirangam. Their mother tongue was Tamil but they wrote in Kannada. They acted as a bridge between Mysore and Tamil Nadu.

Innumerable religious grants discovered in Mysore and Tamil Nadu were grants by the Wodeyars of Mysore to various temples in Tamil Nadu. The religious grants may be studied as an instrument of the State policy of Wodeyars of Mysore. They helped to consolidate the political control over many regions in Tamil Nadu by the Wodeyars of Mysore.

APPENDIX - I

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE WODEYAR RULERS OF MYSORE

1. Yadu (1399-1423)

2. Hiriya Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar (1423) — Chamaraja Wodeyar

Son

3. Thimmaraja Wodeyar (1459-1478)

Son

4. Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar II (Arberal Chamaraja Wodeyar) (1478-1513)

5. Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III(1513-1553)

6. Thimmaraj II (1553-1572 — Krishnaraja Wodeyar — 7. Chamaraja Wodeyar (Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar) 1572-1576

Son

8. Bettada Wodeyar (1576-1578)

9. Raja Wodeyar (1578-1617) — Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar — Muppidevaraja Wodeyar — Channa Raja Wodeyar

Narasaraja Wodeyar (predeceased Raja Wodeyar) — Nanjaraja (predeceased Raja Wodeyar) — Bettada Wodeyar (predeceased Raja Wodeyar) — 11. Immadi Raja Wodeyar (1637-1638)

Son

10. Chamaraja Wodeyar (1617-1637) — 12. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-1659)

Doddadevaraja Wodeyar (1659-1673) — Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar — 13. Kempadevaraja Wodeyar — Maridevaraja Wodeyar

14. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704) — Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar

Son

15. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II (1704-1714)

Son

16. Krishnaraja Wodeyar (1714-1732)

17. Chamaraja Wodeyar VI (adopted) (1732-1734) (Deposed by Dalvoy Nanjarajaiyia)

18. Krishna Raja Wodeyar II (adopted) (1734-1766)

sons

19. Nanjaraja Wodeyar (1766-1772) — 20. Chamaraja Wodeyar VII (1772-1776)

21. Chamaraja Wodeyar VIII (adopted) (1776-1796)

Son

22. Krishnaraja Wodeyar III (1799-1868)

23. Chamaraja Wodeyar X (adopted) (1868-1894)

24. Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV(1895-1940) — Prince Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (predeceased Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV)

Son

25. Jayachamaraja Wodeyar (1940-1947)

ANNEXURE – II

GENEALOGICAL LIST OF THE NAYAKA RULERS OF MADURA

Nagama Nayaka

Visvanatha Nayaka (1529-1564)

Krishnappa Nayaka-I (1564-1572)

Virappa Nayaka (1572-1595)

Krishnappa Nayaka II (1595-1601)

Virappa

Kasturi Rangappa

Muthu Krishnappa Nayaka (1601-1609)

Muthu Virappa Nayaka I (1609-1623)

Tirumala Nayaka (1623-1659)

Kumara Mutta

Muthu Virappa Nayaka II (1659)

Chokkanatha Nayaka (1659-1682) m. Mangammal

Muthu Linga Nayaka (1678)

Ranga Krishna Muthu Virappa III (1682-1689)

Mangammal (1689-1706)

Vijayaraghava Chokkanatha Nayaka (1706-1732) m. Minakshi

Minaksha (1732-1736)

APPENDIX – III

GENEALOGY OF THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE

Sevappa Nayaka (1549-1672

|

(Appointed Governor of Tanjore by Achyutha Raya of Vijayanagara)

|

Achyutappa Nayaka (1572-1614)

|

Raghunatha Nayaka (1614-1640)

|

Vijayaraghava Nayaka (1640-1674)

|

Changamala Dasa(1674)

|

(In 1674 Ekoji occupied Tanjore and put an end to the Nayaka rule in this province. He also shifted his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore where he inaugurated the Maratha rule)

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